

# TIME



**GENERAL  
JOHN KELLY  
TRUMP'S  
LAST BEST  
HOPE**

BY MICHAEL DUFFY

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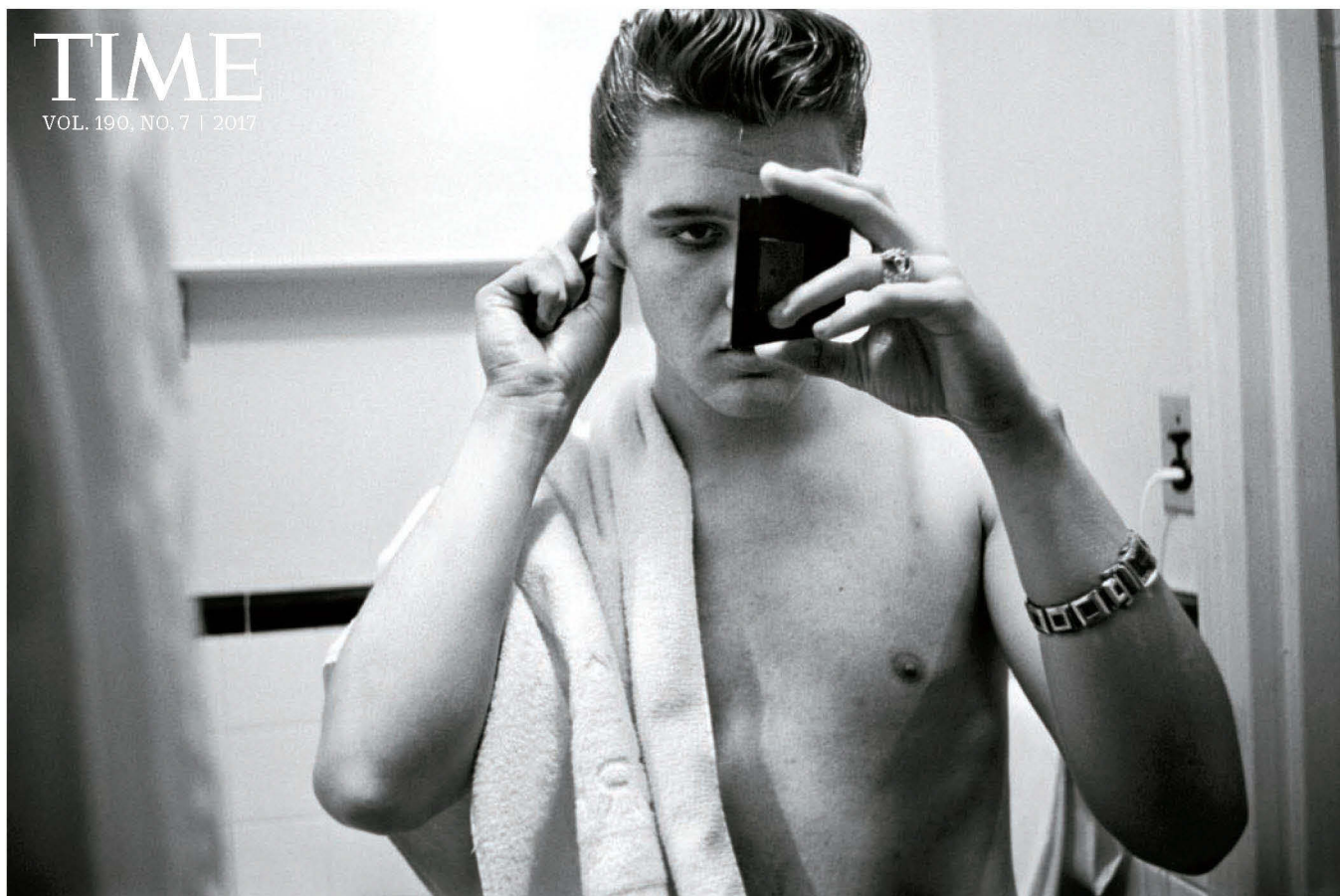


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**▲ In the bathroom of his suite at the Warwick Hotel, Elvis Presley checks his hair in a mirror as he prepares for his appearance on CBS's Stage Show on March 17, 1958, in Manhattan**

Photograph by Alfred Wertheimer—Getty Images

**ON THE COVER:** Photograph by Mike Morones—Military Times

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## What you said about ...

**THE ANTI ANTIDEPRESSANT** Mandy Oaklander's Aug. 7 cover story on the use of ketamine to treat depression inspired many to write in about what worked for them. Jennifer Mesko of Winter Garden, Fla., said that the drugs discussed in the article "made all the difference," while Jeannie Drinkwater of Spooner, Wis., said she'd been helped by electroconvulsive therapy, and Batya Klein of Englewood, N.J., wrote about how transcranial magnetic stimulation had helped a family member. But George Sigel, a psychiatrist in Norwood, Mass., argued that it's a "fantasy" to hope for a drug to lead to wellness on its own, without therapy. "Patients benefit from medication," he wrote. "But often not unless they do their homework."

"There does not seem to be a 'one size fits all' treatment for depression."

PHYLLIS MANNING,  
West Des Moines, Iowa

### BEING 'COWARDLY' ABOUT CANCER

Many readers agreed with Josh Friedman's essay in the Aug. 7 issue about society's unrealistic expectations that patients bravely "battle" cancer. Pat Powell of Grand Junction, Colo., who has been facing cancer for five years, lamented how "strangers dump their wishful thinking on us at every turn." Others, however, said that courage was more relevant than the piece suggested. Benjamin J. Hubbard, a cancer survivor in Costa Mesa, Calif., noted that a study review summarized later in the issue showed that a positive attitude can improve health, and Mark Morrissey, a 20-year survivor in Pinellas Park, Fla., agreed. "When you die, it does not mean that you lost to cancer," he wrote. "You beat cancer by how you live, while you live."

'Saying someone "beat" cancer because he's a fighter implies those who died were not fighters. That's not right.'

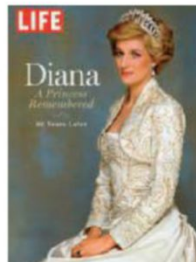
GARY BAXEL,  
Cathedral City, Calif.



**A CRITICAL WINDOW** In a new video, TIME's Africa bureau chief Aryn Baker goes inside an effort to improve health for moms and babies at a camp for people displaced by the militant group Boko Haram in Maiduguri, Nigeria. The work focuses on the "golden window"—the 1,000-day period that begins with conception—during which health experts say it is particularly crucial for mother and child to receive the nutrients they need, even in emergency situations such as these. See the full report at [time.com/nigeria-moms](http://time.com/nigeria-moms)

### THE PEOPLE'S PRINCESS

**A LIFE** special edition about Princess Diana—reissued in advance of the 20th anniversary of her Aug. 31, 1997, death—chronicles her life and her enduring legacy. Among the highlights: her fairy-tale wedding to the Prince of Wales in 1981, her devotion to diplomatic and humanitarian causes, and the impact of her celebrity on the monarchy. Available on Amazon and in the TIME Shop, at [shop.time.com](http://shop.time.com)



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### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In the Brief (July 31), an article on acid attacks in the U.K. misstated the corrosive chemicals in battery fluid. It does contain sulfuric acid. In the Aug. 7 issue, a Milestones item gave an incorrect state abbreviation. Talkeetna is in Alaska.

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‘Why after all our efforts ... do we have no women at all?’

**TAYEBEH SIAVASHI**, Iranian lawmaker, after newly re-elected President Hassan Rouhani nominated only men to his cabinet, despite promising greater gender parity; Rouhani did appoint women to three of the nation's 12 vice presidencies, a more junior role

**64,000,000**

Tons of carbon dioxide equivalent to the amount of greenhouse gases released annually to make meat in the dog and cat food consumed in the U.S., about a third of the impact of all American meat consumption, according to new research



**‘ONE OF THE REASONS IS MY SISTER SAYS I AM AN ALIEN.’**

**JACK DAVIS**, a fourth-grader from New Jersey, applying to be NASA's planetary protection officer, whose job is to safeguard Earth from any extraterrestrial microbes that might be in space samples; NASA denied Davis' request but encouraged him to “study hard”

**J.M. Barrie**  
The late Peter Pan author's long-lost play *The Reconstruction of the Crime* was published

**GOOD WEEK  
BAD WEEK**

**BlackBerry**  
Goldman Sachs issued a “sell” recommendation on the company's stock

**‘As an artist and a human being, I cannot celebrate this incredible honor.’**

**NORMAN LEAR**, 2017 Kennedy Center honoree who helmed *Good Times* and other hit sitcoms, stating he'll boycott this year's White House reception due to the President's proposed cuts to arts funding

**20**

Population of Nipton, Calif., a town on the Nevada border that cannabis company American Green Inc. purchased for an undisclosed amount in order to transform it into a destination for pot tourists

**2,994,056,666**

Number of views the music video for the most streamed song of all time, “Despacito,” by Luis Fonsi and Daddy Yankee, has logged as of Aug. 4, making it the most-viewed clip in YouTube history

**‘WE NEED TO STOP ASSUMING THAT GENDER GAPS IMPLY SEXISM.’**

**JAMES DAMORE**, former Google software engineer, in a memo criticizing the company's diversity practices—particularly regarding women in leadership positions—that was widely circulated online and that catalyzed a debate about male chauvinism in Silicon Valley

**‘We represent the majority of the country.’**

**JACOB ZUMA**, President of South Africa, reacting on Aug. 8 to the eighth unsuccessful no-confidence vote against him; it was the first to be conducted via secret ballot, which emboldened about 30 members of his party to vote with the opposition in the nation's Parliament



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# The Brief

'A SECRETARY OF STATE MUST MANAGE, BUT ALSO INSPIRE, THE COUNTRY'S DIPLOMATIC CORPS.' —PAGE 12



*North Korean soldiers march in a military parade in Pyongyang on April 15*

## WORLD

### A war of fiery words, for now, between North Korea and the U.S.

By Charlie Campbell/  
Beijing

NORTH KOREA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH the U.S. has always been rooted in bitter acrimony, with its periodic threats of annihilating America sounding almost quaint, coming, as they do, from an impoverished nation of 25 million. But never before has Pyongyang's bluster been matched by a U.S. President's. On Aug. 8, Donald Trump said the U.S. would unleash "fire and fury like the world has never seen" against the regime of Kim Jong Un after Pyongyang vowed to retaliate "thousands of times" against Washington for new U.N. sanctions.

Hours after Trump made his comments at his golf club in Bedminster, N.J., North Korea said it was "examining" a strike on American forces on the Pacific island of Guam. Then a tweet was sent out by U.S.

Pacific Air Forces showing a picture of two B-1 bombers flanked by two F-15 fighter jets with the message: "ready to #fighttonight." Former acting CIA director Mike Morell called the situation the most serious one since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, the closest the globe came to nuclear war.

Yet the restraints that have prevented open conflict so far remain in place. If North Korea attacks the U.S. or its allies, the overwhelming response will mean the end of Kim's regime. If the U.S. strikes North Korea, Pyongyang possesses enough conventional firepower to devastate nearby Seoul and possibly also Tokyo, at a cost of at least many thousands of lives. North Korea's escalating missile and nuclear tests appear to have given it the capability to strike America with

a nuclear-armed missile. Citing U.S. intelligence, the *Washington Post* has reported that Pyongyang may already have miniaturized a warhead that can fit inside long-range ballistic missiles, like the two it tested last month. Starting a nuclear war in order to force a rogue state to denuclearize doesn't satisfy even the most rudimentary cost-benefit analysis.

The saber rattling came as the world piled more economic pressure on Kim. On Aug. 5, the U.N. Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 2371, which targets a third of North Korea's \$3 billion worth of foreign earnings—mainly iron, lead, coal and seafood exports—plus revenues through its banks and foreign ventures. U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Nikki Haley called it “the most stringent set of sanctions on any country in a generation.”

Resolution 2371 passed because China and Russia did not veto it. The key is Beijing. Were China, which is responsible for 90% of North Korea's trade, to enforce its considerable part of the sanctions, Pyongyang would suffer a balance-of-payments deficit that could lead to spiraling costs and instability and possibly bring Kim to the negotiating table. Already North Korea is suffering grain shortages after a parched spring. At a regional conference in Manila, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi said he warned his North Korean counterpart Ri Yong Ho, “Do not violate the U.N.'s decision or provoke the international society's goodwill by conducting missile launching or nuclear tests.”

China's cooperation does not come free. In exchange for a freeze on Pyongyang's nuclear program, Beijing would like U.S. THAAD antimissile batteries withdrawn from South Korea and joint military drills nixed between Seoul and Washington (North Korea deems them a dress rehearsal for invasion). Moreover, Beijing will not allow the Kim regime to collapse when the result would be a flood of refugees, and possibly U.S. troops on its doorstep, on a unified, U.S.-allied Korean peninsula.

The hope is that Kim returns to the six-party talks—comprising North and South Korea, Japan, Russia, China and the U.S.—on denuclearization, which ran from 2003 to 2009 before his father Kim Jong Il walked away. During informal Track II meetings with U.S. representatives, however, North Korean officials repeatedly raised the fates of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein and Libyan tyrant Muammar Gaddafi, both of whom were toppled by U.S.-backed uprisings after abandoning their pursuit of nuclear weapons.

“We do not seek a regime change [in Pyongyang],” U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said on Aug. 1. “We do not seek the collapse of the regime.” Kim is unlikely to buy this. But unless he returns to talks, the world has little choice but to accept North Korea as the world's newest nuclear power—or face the calamity of “fire and fury.” □



## TICKER

### Manafort's home raided by FBI

The FBI carried out a predawn raid in July at the home of Paul Manafort, President Trump's former campaign chairman, leaving the property with various records, a report revealed Aug. 9. A special counsel is investigating Russian interference in the 2016 election.

### Europe swelters under heat wave

A heat wave nicknamed Lucifer sent temperatures across Europe soaring to highs of up to 116°F for several days. The extreme heat kindled wildfires and led to a number of deaths in countries across the continent, including Romania, Poland and Italy.

### U.S. Marines lost in Australia crash

U.S. military officials called off a search-and-rescue operation for three U.S. Marines two days after their aircraft crashed off the eastern Australian coast. The other 23 onboard were rescued.

### Titanosaur would have dwarfed T. rex

A recently discovered titanosaur would have made *Tyrannosaurus rex* look puny by comparison, according to a new study. Remains excavated in Argentina in 2012 suggest the herbivore measured up to 122 ft. long and weighed 76 tons.



## FACTS VS. ALTERNATIVE FACTS

### CLAIM

President Trump tweeted on Aug. 7 that his “base is far bigger & stronger than ever before.”

### REALITY

Trump's support among Republicans is still higher than that among the general population, but it is dropping. An Aug. 2 Quinnipiac University poll found that 76% of GOP voters approve of Trump, down from 84% one month earlier.

### CLAIM

In a subsequent Aug. 7 tweet, Trump touted a “record Stock Market” under his leadership.

### REALITY

The S&P 500 has indeed grown by 8.8% since Trump's Inauguration. But both Presidents George H.W. Bush and Barack Obama oversaw greater stock-market expansion during the same period (some of Obama's growth was a rebound from the recession).

### CLAIM

On Aug. 3, Trump told a crowd in West Virginia that he's ending “the war on beautiful, clean coal.”

### REALITY

Trump's proposed budget would actually cut the funds of an Energy Department program working on clean coal—a.k.a. the process of taking carbon-dioxide emissions from coal-fired power plants and either storing them underground or using them for another purpose—by 55%. Moreover, Trump's wider rollbacks of environmental regulations have weakened the justification for it.

### DIGITS

290,000+

Signatories to a petition that successfully opposed French President Emmanuel Macron's wife Brigitte from being named First Lady, a title that comes with political status and a government budget







**WHITE RUSSIAN** President Vladimir Putin of Russia catches some rays during a two-day vacation in the remote Tuva region in southern Siberia between Aug. 1 and Aug. 3. Photos released to Russian state media showed him hiking, fishing, diving and mushroom picking. He is notorious for publicity pictures showcasing his macho credentials, which include a 2009 picture of him riding bare-chested on horseback. *Photograph by Alexey Nikolsky—AFP/Getty Images*

## MILITARY Should mercenaries take over in Afghanistan?

THE U.S. STRATEGY ON AFGHANISTAN IS IN FLUX as President Trump refused to sign off on a Pentagon plan to increase U.S. troop levels from 8,400 to 12,000 to deal with a resurgent Taliban. Now Erik Prince, founder of military contractor Blackwater, is proposing a controversial alternative:

**THE BASICS** Prince, a former Navy SEAL, wants to send an army of 5,500 private soldiers to replace U.S.-led NATO forces in guiding and training the 350,000 Afghan National Security Forces. “[The] conventional military approach in Afghanistan is not working,” he said on Aug. 8.

**THE BENEFITS** According to Prince, the plan would slash the cost of the Afghanistan war to the U.S. from more than \$42 billion a year to \$10 billion; it would also

“restructure” the war, placing all U.S. lines of support under a single American envoy modeled on a viceroy from the days of colonial Britain.

**THE REAL DEAL** Prince claims that the White House is considering the proposal and that he has support from Trump’s chief strategist, Stephen Bannon. But National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster and Defense Secretary James Mattis, both generals, are unlikely to back a proposal to privatize the war. Ronald Neumann, former ambassador to Afghanistan, said Prince’s projected savings were “ridiculous.” Afghan officials also reportedly fear the plan would worsen tensions with the Taliban. That said, it might appeal to Trump, who is frustrated by the lack of progress in Afghanistan and has sought “additional ideas” to address it.

—DAN STEWART



◀ Prince, brother of Education Secretary Betsy DeVos, wants to privatize the war in Afghanistan

## DATA

### GOLD BUGS

Almost 7,500 metric tons of gold is privately stored in London, according to new data, making it one of the largest hoards in the world. Here, how that compares to the largest national reserves:



**8,133**  
metric tons  
U.S.



**3,364**  
Germany



**2,451**  
IMF



**2,451**  
Italy



**1,842**  
China



## TICKER

**Hacking claims in Kenyan election**

Opposition candidate Raila Odinga claimed that the electoral IT system had been hacked to manipulate the results of Kenya's Aug. 8 presidential election in favor of incumbent Uhuru Kenyatta, who was on the verge of victory as TIME went to press.

**U.S. mosque bomb 'act of terrorism'**

An explosive hurled at a mosque in Bloomington, Minn., was "an act of terrorism," Governor Mark Dayton said. A bomb was thrown through one of the building's windows on Aug. 5. No injuries were reported.

**Report: Climate change felt in U.S.**

The U.S. is already feeling the effects of climate change as temperatures have risen dramatically over the past four decades, according to a draft federal report that is awaiting approval by the White House. Activists fear the document may be watered down before publication.

**Mystery sea critters attack teenager**

An Australian teenager was left bloodied by multiple bites to his feet and ankles from mysterious sea creatures during a dip in the water at a Melbourne beach. Doctors speculated that hungry sea lice might be to blame.

## THE RISK REPORT

## Dealt a weak hand, Rex Tillerson is still in the game at State

By Ian Bremmer

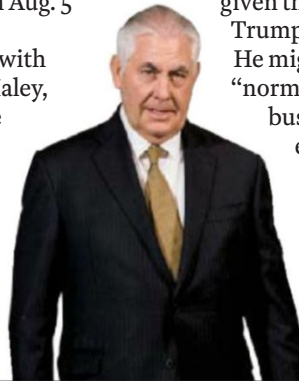
U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE REX TILLERSON deserves better than some of the shots fired at him lately, particularly in a scathing *Washington Post* op-ed by former George W. Bush aide Michael Gerson labeling him a "huge disappointment." It was always going to be an uphill battle for him to be an effective diplomat-in-chief. President Trump has empowered his son-in-law Jared Kushner, who is essentially acting as the nation's Prime Minister, to vet major foreign policy decisions while sitting just steps from the Oval Office. Given that Trump is frequently most influenced by the last person he sees before making important decisions, Foggy Bottom might as well be in North Dakota.

Still, Tillerson has had some significant foreign policy wins of late. The unanimous U.N. Security Council vote to endorse new sanctions against North Korea on Aug. 5 is at the top of the list. Tillerson's assertiveness on the issue, along with that of U.N. Ambassador Nikki Haley, helped rally allies and rivals alike to back the toughest sanctions to date against the Kim Jong Un regime. And if there's one foreign policy official from his Administration whom Trump trusts to deal with Russia, it is Tillerson, thanks in part to the

relationships he built with Russian President Vladimir Putin and others in the Kremlin during his time as ExxonMobil CEO. When Trump met with Putin on July 7 at the G-20 Summit in Hamburg, it was Tillerson whom he brought with him, an important vote of confidence from the President given just how sensitive the Russia issue has become at home.

But Tillerson still struggles to effectively manage his State Department. He spent more than 40 years at ExxonMobil—and over 10 as CEO—but State Department decisionmaking is nowhere near as top-down as inside the energy giant. An effective Secretary of State must empower seasoned foreign policy professionals and channel their significant expertise into serving the President's agenda. Colin Powell, for example, did this exceedingly well; by all accounts, Tillerson is much more insular and reliant on a smaller staff than his predecessors, and it shows. A Secretary of State must manage, but also inspire, the country's diplomatic corps. On that front, Tillerson has fallen short.

So while he deserves mixed reviews, Tillerson's job performance 200 days into the Administration should be graded on a curve, given the extenuating circumstances the Trump presidency has imposed on him. He might have fared much better in a "normal" Administration, where his business background and managerial experience would inject new energy into an at-times sclerotic institution. He's been playing a weak hand moderately well. Given the threats facing the world in 2017, it's far from clear that that will be enough. □



## BUSINESS

## What's in a (brand) name?

Dunkin' Donuts is considering removing *Donuts* from its name as it focuses on becoming a beverage-led brand. It wouldn't be the first example of corporate name changing. —Kate Samuelson

**SUBWAY**

The first store in the sandwich chain was called **Pete's Super Submarines**, but the owners changed it after a second store opened in 1966, because people were mishearing the name as "Pizza Marines."

**STARBUCKS**

**Starbucks Coffee, Tea and Spices** opened in Seattle in 1971, named after a *Moby-Dick* character. In 1987, Howard Schultz bought the company and got rid of the references to tea and spices.

**YAHOO**

The tech company began life in 1994 as **Jerry and David's Guide to the World Wide Web**, after founders Jerry Yang and David Filo. After a year, they changed the name to something a little catchier.





## Milestones

### DIED

Japanese actor **Haruo Nakajima**, who portrayed the monster Godzilla in at least 12 movies including the 1954 original, at 88.

► **Helen Alexander**, British champion of women's equality who became the first female president of the Confederation of British Industry, at 60.

► **Robert Hardy**, British character actor who played Prime Minister Winston Churchill several times as well as Cornelius Fudge in four *Harry Potter* movies, at 91.

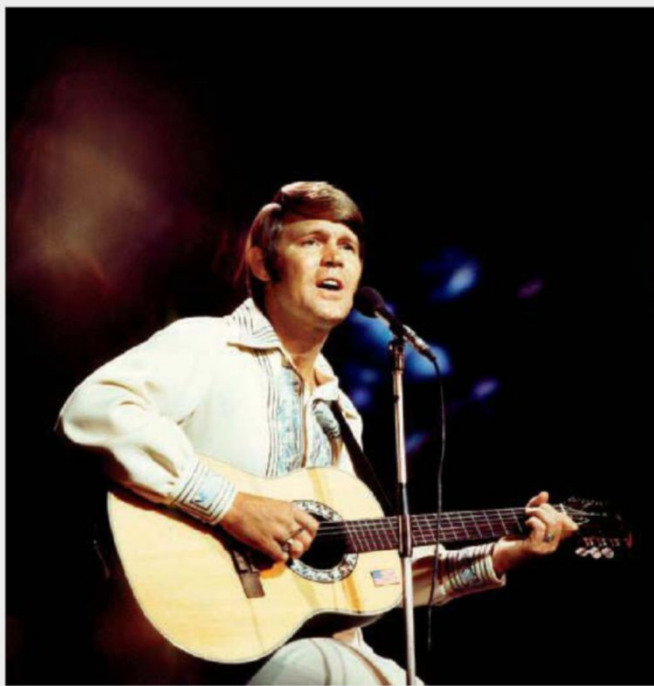
► **Chantek**, an orangutan from Atlanta who was one of the first apes to learn sign language, at 39. In 2014, Chantek starred in PBS's *The Ape Who Went to College*.

### SIGNED

A \$263 million deal with Paris Saint-Germain by **Brazilian soccer star Neymar**, making him the most expensive player in the sport's history.

### IDENTIFIED

**The remains of a male 9/11 victim**, 16 years after the terrorist attack, through the use of advanced DNA technology that tests bone fragments.



*The Rhinestone Cowboy plays London in 1970*

### DIED

## Glen Campbell *Country with a hidden edge*

MAYBE IT'S AN ARKANSAS THING. IF IT TOOK THE TOWN of Hope to give us the preternaturally optimistic Bill Clinton, it took the town of Delight to give us Glen Campbell, who died on Aug. 8 at age 81. The singer, songwriter, television host and, sometimes, cautionary tale, who sold 45 million records and was inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 2005, had been suffering from Alzheimer's disease, a diagnosis he made public in 2011.

Campbell was at the vanguard of country music's embrace of more mainstream pop in the 1960s and '70s, and with hits like "Rhinestone Cowboy" and "By the Time I Get to Phoenix" he offered easy, unthreatening listening in a turbulent time. But that belied his musical history. He played in dive bars in Albuquerque early in his career and was a key member of the small corps of Los Angeles session musicians known as the Wrecking Crew, along with the likes of rocker Leon Russell, who died last year. There were, too, Campbell's three broken marriages and his widely publicized battles with alcohol and cocaine.

It was his fourth wife and now widow Kimberley Woollen who, Campbell said, helped him regain both his equilibrium and his grace. He set out on a 151-show farewell tour that ended in 2012, and in June released his final album. It was simply—and bravely—titled *Adiós*. —JEFFREY KLUGER

### RETIRED

## Usain Bolt *A singular sprinter*

BEFORE ALMOST EVERY BIG race Usain Bolt ran, the crowd hailed the lithe Jamaican as he bounced around the track with a fervor usually reserved for royalty and rock stars. Then, quicker than one of his flashes to the finish, fans shushed before the starting gun, the silence building in electric anticipation of another gold medal, another world record. With his eight Olympic gold medals, 11 world titles and unfathomable record times—9.58 sec. in the 100 m, 19.19 sec. in the 200 m—Bolt singularly turned his doping-tainted sport into a feel-good global spectacle.

In his last solo race before his retirement, the 100-m final on Aug. 5 at the 2017 track-and-field world championships in London, Bolt started too slow and finished third. The turn was unexpected for an athlete who tended to write storybook endings. But afterward the winner, American Justin Gatlin, bowed to his longtime rival—a recognition that no matter the result of this last race, Bolt is the greatest sprinter of all time. His departure leaves a void that will be nearly impossible to fill. —SEAN GREGORY









*Protests in Venezuela, like this clash with the national guard in eastern Caracas on April 26, steadily intensified ahead of the July 30 vote*

## WORLD

# As Maduro tightens his grip on Venezuela, an insurgency stirs

By Ioan Grillo

BEFORE DAWN BROKE IN VENEZUELA'S colonial city of Valencia on Aug. 6, a convoy of SUVs pulled up to a nearby army base and a gaggle of men in green fatigues stormed out, clutching rifles. After a bloody exchange of gunfire, a number of men escaped with grenade launchers and 93 Kalashnikovs. While military helicopters searched in vain for the assailants, a video swept the Internet showing a former army captain claiming credit for the raid "to save the country from total destruction."

The assault marked a troubling escalation from protests that have convulsed the South American nation since April, as President Nicolás Maduro creeps closer to outright dictatorship. For months, a section of demonstrators have faced off against police and soldiers with rocks, Molotov cocktails and cardboard shields in clashes that have cost more than 120 lives. They have also dodged the bullets of paramilitary groups who claim loyalty to the socialist vision of Maduro's predecessor and mentor, Hugo Chávez. This latest stage of the crisis was sparked by the July 30 election of a so-called Constituent Assembly, with sweeping powers to rewrite the constitution. Opponents decried a fraudulent ballot, but many still seem committed to pursuing justice at the ballot box in governorship elections at the end of the year—a move some protesters see as a betrayal after so many have died on the street.

Now, after the attack on the army base, calls for insurrection are growing louder. Oscar Perez, the rogue police inspector who has been on the run since he reportedly piloted a helicopter that launched a grenade at the Supreme

PHOTOGRAPHS BY TIME

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Court in June, hailed the uprising in a filmed interview from his hiding place. Hacked government websites urged citizens to “unite with military units and police who declare rebellion.” The streets of Caracas were relatively quiet following the assault, with residents queuing for hours to feed their families, but some did applaud the idea of an army uprising. “The military is the only hope,” said Luis Garmendia, a shopkeeper in the city center.

But there was also speculation that the raid was a ruse by the government to divert attention from its economic disaster. Despite sitting on the largest oil reserves on the planet, Maduro has steered the economy into hyperinflation that has left millions hungry and poor. He has long blamed mysterious right-wing subversives for the mess, and he did so again on Aug. 6 when he called the raid “a terrorist attack” by mercenaries financed in Colombia and the U.S., linking it to the long history of gringo intervention in the region.

The chaotic situation in Venezuela makes it tough to predict whether the threat of a coup is real or whether Maduro and his allies will be able to cling to power for years. But there is fear an armed struggle could lead to civil war. “The scenarios of violence are something the government is pushing for by closing the channels for dialogue,” Juan Requesens, an opposition lawmaker and former student leader, tells TIME. “They are pushing toward confrontation, but it will be an unequal one. They have the arms. We don’t.”

That makes the army’s loyalties a matter of intense speculation. Chávez, a paratrooper who launched his own failed coup in 1992, put officers into his government and gave others expropriated land to win their loyalty. He also installed a Cuban-style system to watch for any dissent in the ranks, says Pedro Pedrosa, a political consultant and former Venezuelan naval officer.

Yet under the surface, Pedrosa says, many soldiers are getting angrier, especially as they repress food riots in their own neighborhoods. “Inside the military, there is much, much discontent,” he says. “In the end, it could explode.” —WITH REPORTING BY JORGE BENEZRA/CARACAS



*A youth holds a Molotov cocktail in eastern Caracas*



*A bloodstained wall in the National*



*Opposition leader Julio Borges claims voter fraud on Aug. 2*



*A dried-up fountain at Plaza*





Congress



Altamira



*A masked teacher attends an antigovernment protest in Caracas on July 31. "With all this oil money, we don't have any food to eat," she said*



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# The View

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NATION

## The deeper meaning of the Great American Eclipse

By Jeffrey Kluger



*A composite image of the 2008 eclipse over the Marshall Islands  
reveals the sun's halo-like corona during totality*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MILLOSLAV DRUCKMULLER





DESPITE ALL THE HYPE, THE MOON has nothing special planned for Aug. 21. It will continue doing what it's done for more than 4 billion years—insensibly circling Earth, a dead rock at the end of a long gravitational tether.

The sun has nothing special planned either. It will sit where it must sit and burn as it must burn to sustain the flock of planets and moons and asteroids and comets that have orbited it for so long.

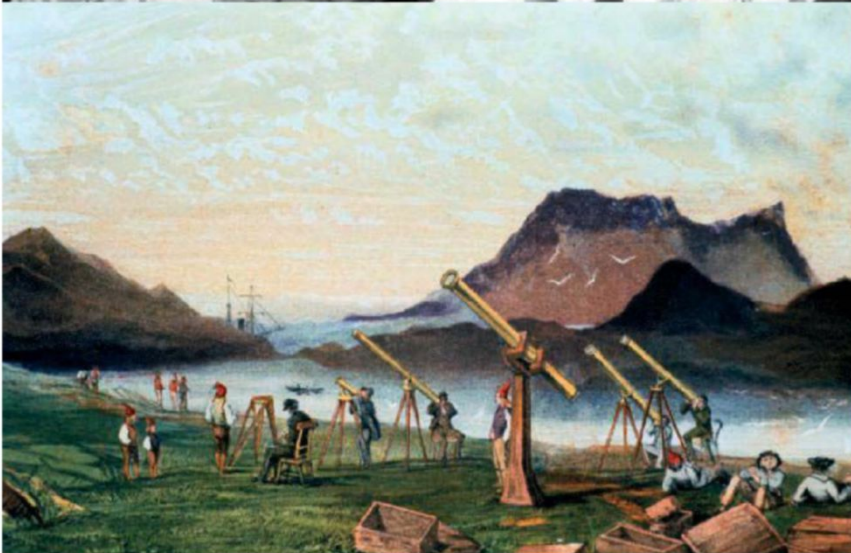
That's how things go in the clockwork cosmos, and yet once in a while, there's poetry in the machinery. Once in a while, the wheels click in synchrony and the indifferent universe offers up a rare spectacle. Just such a thing will happen on Aug. 21 as the moon's orbit crosses in front of the sun at the precise spot to eclipse its face and appear to snuff its fires.

A total solar eclipse occurs somewhere on the face of Earth every 18 months. But it usually plays out over water—which covers 70% of the planet's surface—or over unpopulated land. This month things will be different. The sky show that is being dubbed the Great American Eclipse will begin in the Pacific Northwest and make first landfall over Lincoln Beach, Ore., at 9:05 a.m. P.T. It will track southeast across the U.S., inking a narrow stripe of total darkness over 12 states before passing into the Atlantic near Charleston, S.C., at 2:48 p.m. E.T.

The band of totality—the strip of land in which the sun will be entirely obscured—will be just 70 miles wide. Only 12 million Americans live in that corridor, but 88 million live within 200 miles, and 350 million live within one day's drive. A great many people will be hitting the road to make that trip.

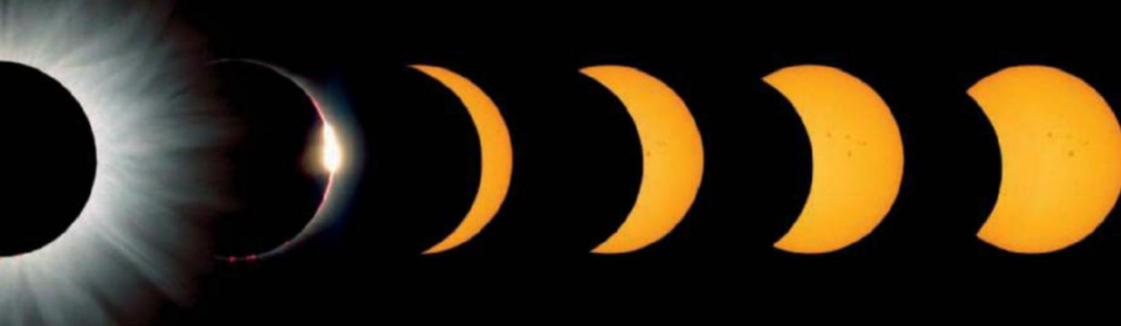
Hopkinsville, Ky., which will experience the longest period of totality—2 min. 40 sec.—is normally home to about 32,000 people, but it expects at least 100,000 visitors on eclipse day. Madras, Ore., pop. 6,500, is steeling itself for a day of pop. 150,000.

"We have people coming from 16 countries," says Brooke Jung,



Top: Viewers on the Empire State Building squint through protective film at the Aug. 31, 1932, eclipse. Bottom: A rendering of the July 28, 1851, eclipse, when members of an astronomical expedition set up telescopes on Bue Island, Norway





A series of images shows the 2001 eclipse over Zambia, the totality of which exceeded three minutes

Hopkinsville's solar-eclipse event consultant.

**NO MATTER HOW BIG** the arriving hordes, Hopkinsville, like other towns in the path of totality, is making elaborate plans to host them. The local government has consulted with the FBI, FEMA and the Department of Homeland Security to game out emergencies.

Traffic lights on surrounding highways will be switched to a fixed green, and side streets intersecting the traffic flow will be closed. Trains will be halted so the noise won't disrupt the viewing experience. First-aid stations are being established throughout the county, pallets of bottled water are being shipped in, and refrigerated trucks will park outside local restaurants to hold overflow food.

Other towns in the eclipse's path face challenges particular to their environment. Casper, Wyo., with its near mile-high elevation, offers exceptional viewing through the thin air, but that can mean dehydration and altitude sickness for visitors accustomed to sea-level living. The heat and the low seasonal rainfall present wildfire risks.

"Just pulling over a car on dry grass can start a fire," says Anna Wilcox, executive director of the Wyoming Eclipse Festival. "A spark or even the added heat from the car can be all it takes."

The tourist explosion should be a boon to local economies. Kentucky estimates a \$30 million windfall. Wyoming isn't speculating on its predicted haul, but dedicated eclipse chasers are expected to spend up to \$5,000 a throw in the state. Still, the rarity of the event means that even the people who make it their business to know these things admit they're flying blind.

"We're not working with much," says Carter Wilson of STR Analytics, a business benchmarking firm. It's

easy enough to estimate the economic impact of, say, a national political convention, because there is plenty of historical data. Eclipses offer no such baseline. "Certainly, you can see what's happening on booking sites like Expedia," Wilson says. "You have motels charging \$1,500 per night. With planned events like the Super Bowl, we see 300% to 1,000% increases in room rates."

The opportunism has put some local governments on guard. Casper officials have made it clear they will not abide price gouging for basics such as food and water.

Another worrisome form of troublemaking is the flood of counterfeit eclipse glasses. It's unsafe to look directly at the sun until the point of totality. Specialized eclipse-viewing glasses eliminate the risk, but it's hard to know by looking if you're buying the real thing or a cheap knockoff. Both NASA and the American Astronomical Society list reliable brands and marketers on their websites, and eclipse watchers are encouraged to check them out before they buy.

**ULTIMATELY**, the Great American Eclipse will be about more than tourism, tax revenue or even astronomy. It will be about culture.

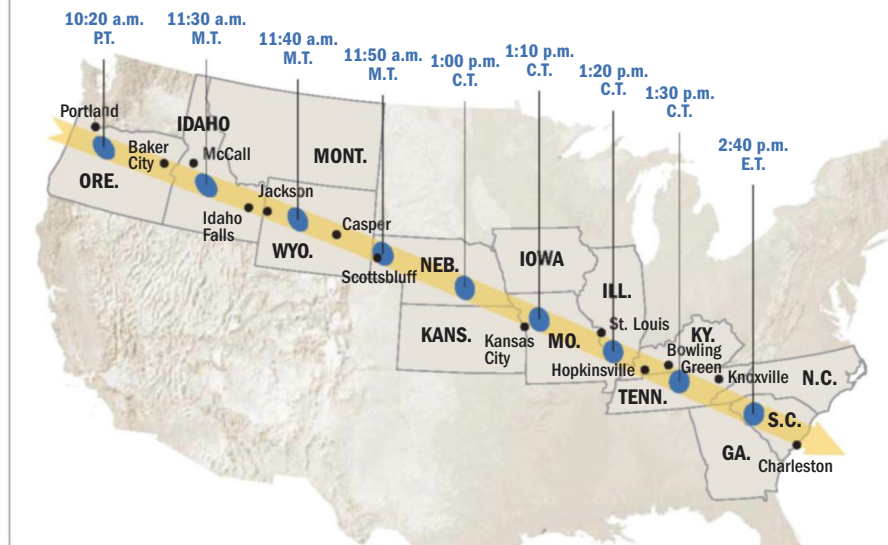
The sky show is occurring in a summer of America's profound discontent—making it a sort of Woodstock writ large. Like Woodstock, it comes at a time of turmoil and has the potential to elevate us—if only briefly—above those troubles. Very much unlike Woodstock, it will be a celebration that knows no single region, subculture or demographic slice.

It would be a sublime act of American vanity to infer anything other than serendipity in the eclipse's occurring when we so need the uplift. And yet the very mechanics of solar eclipses have long tempted us to see more. The sun's diameter is 400 times that of the moon, which ought to make it impossible for the moon to block the sun's light. But the sun is also 400 times the moon's distance from Earth, so the two disks appear the same size to us, making the eclipse possible.

Is that merely a function of cosmic randomness? Yes. Might you also find order and even divinity in it? Yes again. There is nothing wrong with seeing the 2017 eclipse as a gift to a riven nation—provided we resolve to be worthy of it. ▢

Just 12 million people live in the band of totality, but 88 million live within 200 miles and 350 million within one day's drive

### The timing of totality



NATION

## A small-scale power solution could pay big dividends across the U.S.

By Justin Worland

THE BROOKLYN WATERFRONT HAD ALL THE TRAPPINGS OF a Formula One Grand Prix on a recent weekend, with high-performance racers taking tight corners at speeds up to 140 m.p.h. But rather than running on gas, these 20 super-charged Formula E cars and the surrounding venue were largely powered by renewable sources of electricity.

Such a feat was made possible by the installation of a tiny power grid designed just for the race site by the electricity company Enel. Known as a microgrid, the apparatus incorporated solar panels, batteries and a novel fuel source called Aquafuel that is devised to meet the needs of high-performance vehicles. Designers also included a link to the larger electric grid for times when the microgrid produced too little—or too much—electricity.

“The system is capable of determining where to take the energy from, whether from the grid, from the battery or from the solar panels,” says Chris Regan, Enel’s Formula E project manager. He characterizes the effect of this smart system as “more sustainable, lower costs, lowest emissions.”

You don’t have to be an eco-minded racing fan to see the value. Microgrids have become increasingly popular across the U.S. in recent years, embraced by everyone from community developers to military officials. They have been installed as part of a 40-solar-panel infrastructure project atop a peak in North Carolina’s Great Smoky Mountains; used as a way to deliver power to the 2,800 residents of Borrego Springs, Calif.; and implemented at the U.S. Army’s Fort Carson in Colorado.

The reason is as simple as the bottom line: the technology offers a way for communities to collect, store and use their own energy, rather than pay for it to be shipped from miles away. In the U.S., microgrids often include batteries, a localized renewable energy source like solar panels, and sophisticated software to determine when to buy energy from utility companies and when to sell any excess power back.

Thanks to their limited scope, microgrids help protect against disturbances such as blackouts and cyberattacks, which can lead to expensive and time-consuming power outages. The solar panels and self-contained storage mean that a microgrid can disconnect from a regional electric grid and operate independently if necessary. That’s a huge improvement—both in cost and environmental impact—from the diesel backup generators that many facilities rely on today.

**THE RISE OF MICROGRIDS** comes as part of a broader shift in the ways Americans think about electricity storage and delivery. The grid, long associated with large infrastructure such as transmission lines, power plants and substations, also functions at the community and neighborhood levels.



A custom microgrid powered the electric race cars at the Formula E event in Brooklyn in July

**\$3.5  
BILLION**

Estimated total investment in U.S. microgrids between 2015 and '20

**54%**

Share of existing global microgrid capacity located in North America

SOURCES:  
GTM RESEARCH,  
NAVIGANT RESEARCH

Indeed, microgrid capacity is expected to double by 2020, totaling 4.3 gigawatts in microgrid potential, according to GTM Research, an industry analyst.

This rapid growth would likely have surprised early advocates of the technology, which grew to help power places in the developing world that could not easily link to a primary electric grid. In remote parts of Africa and South America, where hundreds of millions of people live without reliable electricity, energy companies have turned to solar panels, battery storage and the software to run them as a way to deliver power to detached communities.

“Microgrids that can isolate from the grid when needed have value in both developing worlds and developed worlds,” says Gregg Patterson, CEO of Demand Energy, a company that builds microgrids. “We installed a microgrid in Brooklyn and Queens because it was in the most challenged network” in the region, he says.

The promise of both resiliency and frugality has made the U.S. military one of the biggest boosters of microgrids. According to GTM, the armed forces are expected to operate nearly one-third of U.S. microgrid capacity by 2020. The technology will allow the military to reduce reliance on expensive and high-polluting diesel as its backup generation. The savings are expected to total up to \$20 million annually for a large military installation, according to a report from the Pew Charitable Trusts. Even for the best-funded military on the planet, there’s nothing micro about that.



## When you control your own energy, you control your future.

The Native Americans believe that the land is a gift to be preserved and sustained for future generations. To help deliver on this promise, the tribe at Blue Lake Rancheria is using Siemens digital technology to seamlessly distribute and control self-generated power. By doing so, they're reducing their carbon footprint and energy costs. And, in cases of severe weather, natural disasters or power blackouts, they can island from the central grid, leaving them ready for anything.

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## Birdbrain is a misnomer: new studies show birds' remarkable cognitive skills

By Jeffrey Kluger

IT HAS BEEN A VERY BAD YEAR FOR BUD THE PARROT, but it has been even worse for his former owners Glenna and Martin Duram. Martin is dead, Glenna is in prison for his murder, and it was Bud, a witness to the crime, who tried to rat her out. Really.

In 2015, Glenna shot Martin five times in the midst of an argument in their Michigan home. A sensational crime became all the more so when Bud began repeating the words, “Shut up!” and much more tellingly, “Don’t f-cking shoot!” The “Shut up!” was in no one’s voice in particular, but the plea not to pull the trigger was unmistakably in Martin’s.

There was no limit of good reasons why Bud wasn’t put on the stand—beginning with the “raise your right hand” part. Even if it had somehow been possible to bring the bird into a courtroom and have him repeat Martin’s last words, there was no way of establishing that he didn’t simply pick them up from a television show. Still, Glenna was convicted on other evidence, Bud went off to live with a relative of the family’s, and the scientific community had one more extraordinary story about the equally extraordinary intelligence of birds.

Never mind the familiar birdbrain insult; in recent years, investigators have learned more and more about the improbable cognitive abilities of at least some types of birds. That, in turn, is providing new insights into how brains—including our own—work across the entire animal kingdom.

**OF THE DOZENS** of families of birds, there are three that have attracted the most research into intelligence: corvids, which include crows, ravens, jays, magpies and other species; Psittacidae, which include parrots, parakeets, lovebirds and kea; and Cacatuidae, which include cockatoos and cockatiels. Crows, for example, have long been known to be adept toolmakers—by, say, reshaping a paper clip into a hook so they can fish a treat out of a narrow vessel. Rooks, another corvid species, have figured out that if they drop pebbles into a partly filled pitcher, they can raise the water level enough to snag treats floating on the surface. Some rooks even realize that by dropping the bigger pebbles in first, they can speed the job along considerably.

In July, a pair of investigators at Lund University in Sweden went further, showing that ravens have not only the cognitive ability to master tool use but also the temperamental ability to use that skill to its best advantage. Ravens that were taught to open a box with a tool in order to get a treat inside would later select the tool from a tray of other distracting objects and set it aside even if the box wasn’t presented along with it.

In a related experiment, the ravens also showed a talent for delayed gratification. After being trained to use a token that they could exchange with a researcher for a food reward, the birds would later select the same token from a tray of objects that also included an immediate but less appealing treat. Out



of 144 trials, the birds chose the token 143 times, correctly wagering that if they were patient, a human would appear and let them cash it in for a more desirable reward.

“Birds will wait for better,” says comparative psychologist Irene Pepperberg of Harvard University, perhaps the best-known figure in the field of avian cognition. “But if you give our gray parrot Griffin the better treat first, he’ll look at you for about a second as if to say, ‘What, are you kidding? I’m not waiting for a worse treat.’ Then he’ll grab it.”

**IT IS LANGUAGE** that is the most dramatic avian skill. The parrot’s ability to mimic and even understand human speech is impressive enough. Pepperberg became famous for the work she did with Alex the gray parrot, who died in 2007 at age 3 with a vocabulary of more than 100 words and the ability to assemble them into simple sentences. (His last words, when Pepperberg covered his cage on the night he died, were, “You be good, see you tomorrow. I love you.”)

Karl Berg, a professor of avian ecology at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, is conducting studies in South America recording parrot calls. He is uncovering a complex vocabulary that allows the birds to convey information about food, predators, mating and other relevant matters.

No bird is going to displace humans as the smartest critters on the planet, of course, but all of this work is nonetheless a reminder that our familiar, self-flattering equation—big thoughts require big brains—is a myth. There are elegant brains and nimble brains too—and they are home to equally elegant and nimble minds. □





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Nation



# C O U N T R Y

WHY A FOUR-STAR MARINE GENERAL SIGNED UP

*General John Kelly  
and President  
Donald Trump  
attend a meeting  
on cybersecurity in  
the White House's  
Roosevelt Room  
on Jan. 31*

PHOTOGRAPH BY  
KEVIN LAMARQUE





# FIRST

TO SAVE THE FOUNDERING TRUMP PRESIDENCY

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BY MICHAEL DUFFY

# To the men and women of the Trump White House—the curious, the hopeful, the desperate and the dubious—the all-hands summons was a little out of the ordinary.

It invited everyone to a meeting the next day in an unusual place: not a room in the cramped West Wing or the much larger South Court Auditorium, which is typically used for such sessions, but the quieter marbled entryway of the Eisenhower Executive Office Building, next to the White House. After almost 200 days of infighting, leaks and operatic staff shake-ups, morale was running a bit thin. Hundreds of people, including dozens who have been exiled from the West Wing for a sorely needed renovation, turned up to meet the new boss.

No introduction was needed. John Kelly simply stepped to the microphone and said, “Hi. Nice to meet you. I’m from Boston.” As the President’s son-in-law Jared Kushner and other senior aides watched from the wings, the retired four-star Marine general then rallied the embattled troops and laid down new rules of engagement. He urged his staff to stop the infighting and set their egos and agendas (and any leaking) aside. With a nod to the Marine credo—God, Country, Corps—he told his audience that they must start serving a hierarchy that put the nation, and not the President, first: “Country, President, Self,” he said.

So began a new era at Donald Trump’s White House, one that might be his best, or last, chance for success. Almost overnight, Kelly shut the always-open door to the Oval Office, sent hangers-on back to their desks, fired the combustible communications director Anthony Scaramucci and told all the leaders of all the many White House factions to report to

him, not to the President. No one knows whether Kelly will succeed, how long he might last or if the general’s starched-shirt discipline will be rejected by the client. Early results were mixed, and skeptics are not hard to find. But Kelly clearly arrived with a mission: to fix a broken system that the nation and the world depends on every day to keep the ship called Earth in the middle of the channel.

Of course, almost any new order is better than the chaos that reigned in the White House before July 31. “It’s at rock bottom,” said one White House aide of the mood when Kelly took over. That doesn’t mean brighter days ahead. “Well, with this White House, it could always get worse.”

But under Kelly, 67, that seems unlikely, both because Kelly won’t permit it and because Trump, who defers to virtually no one, shows a clear preference for, and deference to, the military brass. It’s a bit of a mystery why. Perhaps because he went to a military academy for five years, or because he imagines that they will do whatever he says, or because he just likes tough guys with a killer instinct, Trump likes generals. Rarely in U.S. history has a clutch of senior brass played such an outsize role in the affairs of state as they

do now. The President’s chief of staff, his Defense Secretary James Mattis and his National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster are all either active-duty or retired generals. What makes the arrangement all the more interesting is that the three men are not only friends but longtime allies. Two of the three are Marines, and when you add Joseph Dunford, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs (who, with Kelly, served under Mattis), it is safe to say the scrappy Marine Corps has never had so much clout in the chain of command.

The deep bonds and know-how of that team may have already done the nation a great service. This summer, as the threats from North Korea increased while confusion dominated in the White House, the generals quietly launched a mission of their own. Mattis, McMaster and Dunford (as well as Secretary of State Rex Tillerson) were concerned enough about the conduct of foreign policy to work together to convince a skeptical Kelly to become chief of staff. Their argument: unless someone else takes over, this White House cannot handle a real crisis. Which means that when Trump asked Kelly for the third time to be his chief of staff, it wasn’t just a job offer. It was a call of duty.

**FRIENDS SAY THAT,** almost to a person, John Francis Kelly is defined by his blue collar roots in Boston, where he was born in 1950 and where men of his generation and class proceeded directly from getting their draft notices to taking their physicals. If they passed that test, they immediately joined the Marine Corps. This tradition remains Kelly’s lodestar. “In the America I grew up in,” he said in a 2016 Marine interview commemorating his career, “every male was a veteran—my dad, my uncles, all the people on the block.” It was a tradition Kelly passed on to his kids. His two sons became Marines, and his daughter serves in the FBI.

An adventurous kid, Kelly hitchhiked across the U.S. as a teen and rode an empty boxcar back east before his 16th birth-

When Trump asked Kelly for the third time to be his chief of staff, it wasn’t just a job offer. It was a call of duty





day, and then joined the Merchant Marine to see the world (his first ship delivered 10,000 tons of beer to Vietnam). In 1970, he enlisted in the Marines—a move that would endear him to many recruits he would one day lead—but that only got him as far as Camp Lejeune. “I was a grunt,” he recalled. “I wasn’t committed to a career. I wanted to go to college and come back and be an officer.” So after two years at Lejeune, he entered the University of Massachusetts in Boston, graduated in 1976 as a commissioned officer and began to climb the Corps’ small but fiercely competitive leadership ladder.

It was a legendary run. He served on carriers and did stints at Quantico, Camp Pendleton, the National War College in Washington and the Marine Corps’ headquarters in Arlington, Va. He served three tours in Iraq and also took on more political posts, including congressional liaison for the Marines as well as senior aide to Defense Secretaries Robert Gates and Leon Panetta, both of whom worked in multiple White Houses. “This is a guy who is focused on the mission,” Panetta told TIME. “You tell him to take the hill and he will take the hill. Then he’ll tell you there’s a smart way and a dumb way to do it.”

He was sharp and salty, but also collegial and adaptable to any environment. After at least 45 years and 29 moves, he completed his Marine career as head of Southern Command, a four-star post that covers more than countries spanning Central America, South America

## TRUMP’S GENERALS

### H.R. MCMASTER

NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER

#### BACKGROUND

A West Point graduate and cavalry officer, McMaster authored a scathing rebuke of the military leadership during the Vietnam War as part of his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It formed the basis for his best-selling 1997 book *Dereliction of Duty*.

#### ACCOLADES

Known as the Iconoclast General, McMaster’s efforts to rewrite military doctrine stalled his rise through the ranks. He earned a Silver Star for valor during the first Gulf War and served multiple deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan.

#### NOTABLE QUOTE

“Our leaders can’t feel compelled to tell their bosses what they want to hear.”

and the Caribbean. Kelly won wide praise for his work there, but he drew attention when he criticized President Obama’s decision to open combat posts to women and his desire to close the military prison at Guantánamo Bay. Kelly could be famously blunt. Asked about the rise of ISIS in 2016, he said, “As a military guy, it’s simple for me. My part of this equation is to kill as many of them as we can.”

Kelly knows the cost of war too well. His son Robert was killed at age 29 when

he stepped on a land mine in Afghanistan, in 2010. Kelly became the highest-ranking U.S. military officer to lose a child in Afghanistan or Iraq since 9/11.

When retirement finally came in 2016, it seemed like a blessing. Kelly took a lucrative job working for DynCorp, a defense contractor, and steered clear of what he described as “the cesspool of domestic politics.” (He also made clear that he was willing to serve for either Hillary Clinton or Trump.) Kelly was watching college football on a Saturday in November when Reince Priebus called to sound him out about a job in the new Administration. Kelly at first thought the call was a prank, the work of some other retired Marines. Once he was convinced it was Priebus, he asked his wife Karen what she thought. Her reply: “If they think they need you, you can’t get out of it. Besides, I’m really tired of this quality retired time we’re spending together.”

Kelly had never met Trump and was surprised when the President-elect offered him the job as Secretary of Homeland Security in the first five minutes of his “interview” at Trump’s Bedminster, N.J., golf resort. The post intrigued him from the start—so did the red flags. Almost immediately, Trump aides tried to install as Kelly’s No. 2 Kansas secretary of state Kris Kobach, whose theories about widespread voter fraud made him a Trump favorite. Kelly resisted and won that battle, but he lost the fight to bring in a deputy of his own choosing. This quickly because the pattern. Aides he wanted on his team were often vetoed by political types around the President. And Kelly, who in his post at Southern Command was responsible for a variety of issues ranging from drug cartels to Latin refugee flows, bristled at the coaching Trump aides tried to give him in advance of his confirmation hearing.

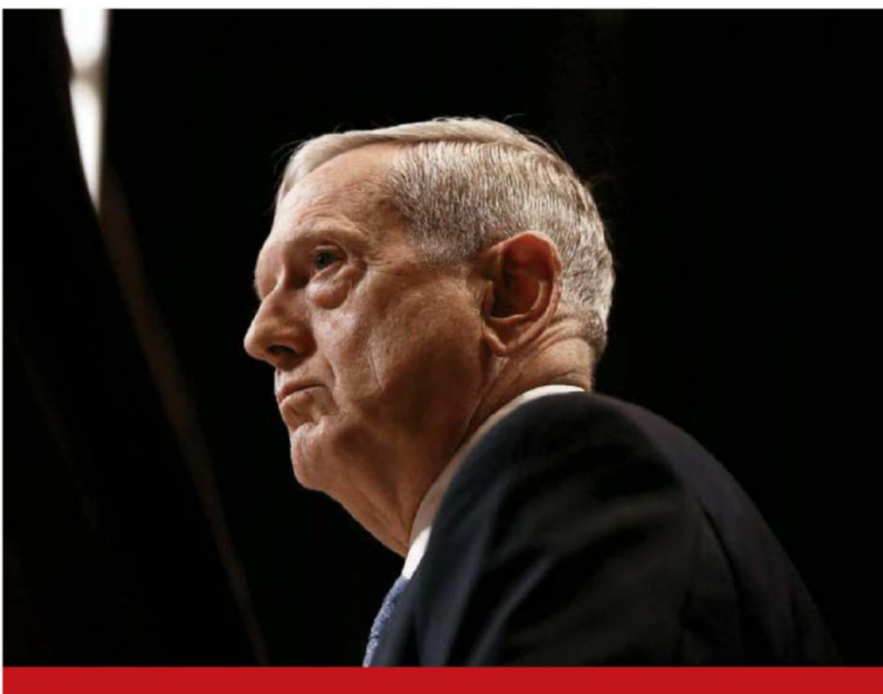
Then came the hastily drafted travel ban. When Kelly first learned of the Executive Order, he asked about White House talking points for the embassies and Congress. The answer: there were none. The incident left Kelly stunned by the Trump team’s lack of preparation. But he appeared before cameras to support the ban and promised to carry it out. That angered Democrats who had backed his nomination. It also endeared him to the President, who found himself defending

a travel ban without a workable plan to make it happen.

Trump began to call Kelly, “getting his input, running something by him or saying he was doing a good job,” one West Wing aide recalled. The two men had dinner several times in the first six months, and soon Trump was pressing Kelly to take a larger role at the White House. Kelly resisted, more than once. And yet as his star rose with the President, so did resentment in the West Wing. Former Kelly allies blame jealous White House officials for two notable stories that they feel were designed to damage his relationship with Trump: one alleged that he and Mattis had made a pact that one of them remained stateside all the time, to help preserve stability. The other suggested that Kelly had considered quitting after Trump fired FBI Director James Comey in May. There is some evidence for both reports, but neither is conclusive. True or not, Kelly’s aides considered the stories to be shots across the boss’s bow.

But by mid-July, larger forces were at work. The West Wing was devolving into inexplicable daily chaos, much of it starting with Trump. Priebus never emerged as a chief of staff strong enough to keep the President’s worst instincts at bay. The factional feuding inside the White House among traditional Republicans, family aides and the populists led by Stephen Bannon became an ungovernable embarrassing mess. As threats overseas, particularly from North Korea, loomed larger, Mattis, Tillerson and Dunford pressed Kelly to step in and assert some control for the sake of the country.

Then in late July, when everything seemed to go haywire in the space of a few days—the sudden and disturbing rise of Scaramucci; Trump’s politicized speech to the Boy Scouts at the National Scout Jamboree; the tweet about a transgender ban in the military, which caught Pentagon generals by surprise—Kelly heard from still others out of his past. The refrain: You must do this now. Fred McCorkle, a retired three-star Marine general, explained Kelly this way: “You’ve seen so many people that do this stuff for power. John doesn’t care about power. He’s already had all the power in the world. He’s doing it 100% for service.”



## JAMES MATTIS

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

### BACKGROUND

Born in Washington State, the four-star Marine general nicknamed “Mad Dog” is widely respected as an erudite and extremely aggressive field commander. Mattis, 66, retired in 2013 after more than 40 years in the Corps.

### ACCOLADES

Earned a Bronze Star, Legion of Merit and other honors for distinguished service. Picked to lead key opening battles in the Afghanistan war in 2001 and the Iraq war in 2003. (In Iraq, Mattis’ radio call sign was “Chaos.”) Served as head of Central Command, overseeing U.S. forces in the Middle East and South Asia.

### NOTABLE QUOTE

“Be polite, be professional, but have a plan to kill everyone you meet.”

**THE KELLY EFFECT** on White House operations was immediate. He told everyone in the West Wing to report to him and not the President, including, at least in theory, “Javanka,” Washington’s nickname for Kushner and his wife Ivanka Trump. He squelched the flow of unvetted paper to the President, which had sometimes led to erroneous tweets and anecdotes; he listened in on Trump’s conversations with other Cabinet officers. In meetings, he cut off ramblers and told bickering aides to work out their differences before they arrived. Patrolling the West Wing, he told aides to stay in their offices instead of

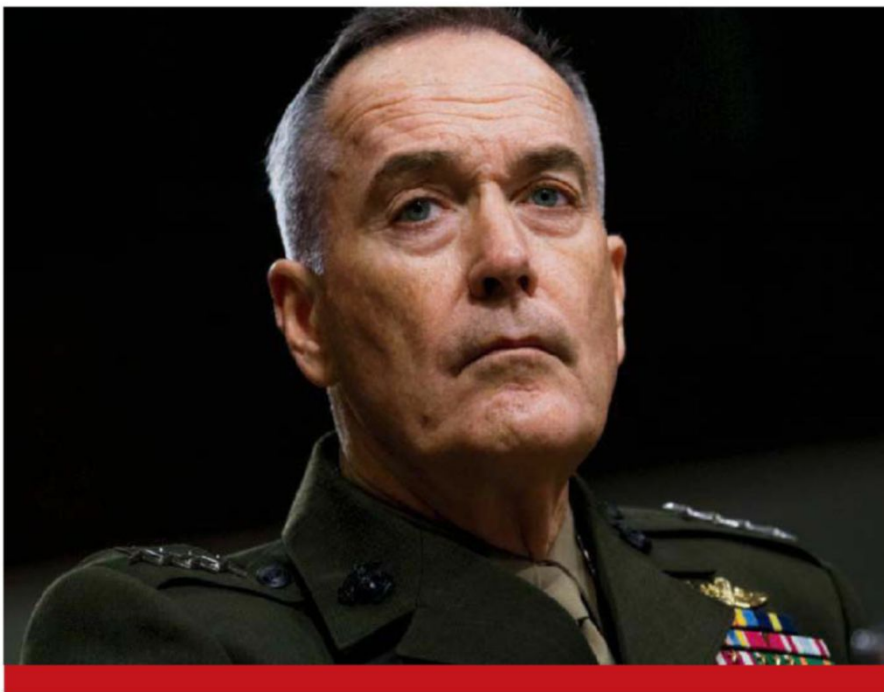
loitering in clumps of five or six outside the Oval Office and trying to catch the President’s eye. (As a result, some White House officials are spending more time on television; it is known to be an excellent way to attract the President’s attention.) And he backed National Security Adviser McMaster, who had been trying for months to remove troublesome allies of Bannon’s without success. Other staff changes are expected. One West Wing aide called the White House under Kelly a “more sane environment.”

Trump has welcomed the change. “Right now, he’s very happy to have someone taking control,” a close aide explains. “I think there will eventually be an adjustment period when he feels like things are working and some others that he wants to revert back or change.”

Which is another way of saying that, in the Trump White House, there are limits to any disciplinarian’s reach. Trump doesn’t take well to constant oversight, and even Republicans worry that any praise heaped on Kelly now could quickly limit, or even end, his influence. And yet if some reports held that Kelly was exerting a moderating force on Trump’s manic tweeting, it was at times hard to tell. Trump was back to his old habits, tweeting from his Bedminster vacation, starting at 6:38 a.m. on Aug. 7 with complaints about “the failing @nytimes” and “24/7 #Fake News on CNN, ABC, NBC, CBS, NYTIMES & WAPO.” By 8:01 a.m., the President had issued nine edicts via social media.

Then on Aug. 8, Trump responded to





the latest North Korean threat with some unhelpful, and improvised, language of his own: “North Korea best not make any more threats to the United States. They will be met with fire and fury like the world has never seen.” The outburst led skeptics—and there are many—to point out Kelly’s influence is overstated. “This was an interesting experiment with General Kelly,” said John Weaver, who is advising Ohio Governor John Kasich, a once and perhaps future rival for the GOP nomination. (One Kelly backer, asked why the new chief of staff didn’t block the “fire and fury” statement, replied only, “You’ll never know how many others he did stop.”)

Meanwhile, it’s far from clear that Kelly (or anyone else) can convert a President with only a passing interest in policy into a legislative force. The extended but failed Republican campaign to repeal Obamacare left the GOP with only 12 legislative days to manage the ritual of raising the debt ceiling by Sept. 29 and passing a budget by Sept. 30. The betting is against them: many GOP lawmakers will likely oppose both measures, which means House Speaker Paul Ryan and Senate leader Mitch McConnell will have to rely on the mercy of Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer to keep the troops paid, the Social Security checks coming and the Treasury borrowing. Failure to do so could plunge the U.S. and global economies into a tailspin. Democrats already know they can practically dictate terms. “Republicans are in the majority,”

## JOSEPH DUNFORD

CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT  
CHIEFS OF STAFF

### BACKGROUND

A Boston native like his close friend General Kelly, Dunford, 61, rose from an infantry officer to become the 36th Commandant of the Marine Corps. A graduate of the U.S. Army Ranger School, he holds master’s degrees from Georgetown University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

### ACCOLADES

Before becoming the nation’s highest-ranking military officer in 2015, Dunford commanded U.S. forces in Afghanistan as well as a Marine regiment during the 2003 Iraq invasion.

### NOTABLE QUOTE

“Russia presents the greatest threat to our national security.”

said one Democratic Senate aide, “but that doesn’t mean they are in charge.”

The GOP is in a bind, which helps explain why the White House is trying to keep the focus on a broad and overdue reform of the tax code. Tax simplification (and the promise of lower rates for some) is far more popular with voters and lawmakers than passing spending bills, but it is probably impossible to execute this year, at least in this environment. Under the best-case scenario, it may be years away: the last time Congress went down that road, in the quaintly bipartisan mid-1980s, it took three years to pull off from

start to finish.

And there are a host of other headaches for the new chief of staff to manage. The President’s poll ratings continue to drift downward, which leads Trump to tweet and speak disproportionately to his base if only to keep it propped up. The Russia probe appears to be gathering speed as special counsel Robert Mueller works with an active grand jury and examines the relationship that Trump’s first National Security Adviser, retired general Michael Flynn, had with Moscow and the government of Turkey. (The Washington Post reported on Aug. 9 that FBI agents working under Mueller raided the home of former Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort on July 26.) The generals seem unified in their desire to persuade Trump to put more U.S. forces in Afghanistan, despite the opposition of populists led by Bannon. And then there is the still unresolved question of whether Trump will carry out his promised ban on transgender service members.

Trump gets bored with people easily and has a history of blaming aides for his own missteps. Even Kelly may not be immune. One former aide who has fallen from grace suggested it was only a matter of time. But Kelly is clear-eyed about the mission: it is not so much about “fixing” Trump as it is earning the President’s trust so that he can make repairs to White House operations quickly, before an international incident tests the team.

But it is also likely that Trump knows on some level that his presidency and perhaps the nation hang in the balance. In moments of crisis, American political leaders have often turned to the nation’s military brass to guide the country with clear thinking. For the time being, current and former officers are positioned to perform double duty, providing for the common defense abroad and a measure of common sense at home. If that isn’t what the Founders had in mind when they drafted the Constitution, it is also preferable to several other possibilities that could still become reality. The arrangement bears close watching. But in the case of John Kelly, it is a reminder of what a lifetime of service to the nation can mean. —*With reporting by* ALEX ALTMAN, MASSIMO CALABRESI, PHILIP ELLIOTT, ZEKE J. MILLER *and* MAYA RHODAN/  
WASHINGTON

*Kaitlyn Johnson,  
7, was diagnosed  
with leukemia but  
is in remission  
after receiving a  
new genetic and  
immune therapy*





HEALTH

# *Cancer's*

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IT COMBINES THE POWER OF GENETICS AND THE

# *newest*

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IMMUNE SYSTEM, AND IT'S SAVING LIVES

# *miracle cure*

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BY ALICE PARK

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRENT HUMPHREYS FOR TIME

# W

WITH THE USUAL MIX OF ANTICIPATION and apprehension, Kaitlyn Johnson is getting ready to go to her first summer camp. She's looking forward to meeting new friends and being able to ride horses, swim and host tea parties. She's also a little nervous and a little scared, like any 7-year-old facing her first sleepaway camp.

But the wonder is that Kaitlyn is leaving the house for anything but a medical facility. Diagnosed with leukemia when she was 18 months old, her life has been consumed with cancer treatments, doctors' visits and hospital stays.

Acute lymphoblastic leukemia is the most common cancer among young children, accounting for a quarter of all cancer cases in kids, and it has no cure. For about 85% to 90% of children, the leukemia can, however, be effectively treated through chemotherapy.

If it is not eliminated and comes back, it is, more often than not, fatal. Rounds of chemotherapy can buy patients time, but as the disease progresses, the periods of remission get shorter and shorter. "The options for these patients are not very good at all," says Dr. Theodore Laetsch, a pediatrician at the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center.

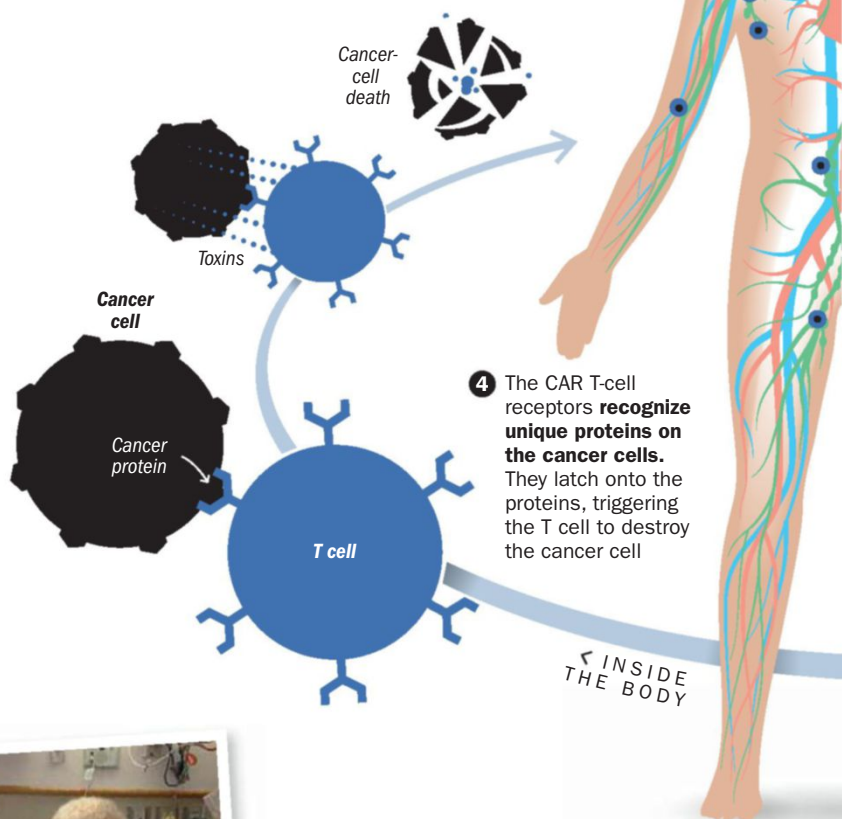
When Kaitlyn's cancer wasn't controlled after three years and round after round of chemotherapy drugs, her doctors had little else to offer. "They said, 'This did nothing, it didn't touch it,'" says Kaitlyn's mother Mandy, a dental assistant from Royce City, Texas. "My stomach just dropped." Kaitlyn could receive a bone-marrow transplant, but only about half of those procedures are successful, and there was a good chance that she would reject the donor cells. If that happened, her chances of surviving were very small.

In a calculated gamble, her doctors suggested a radical new option: becoming a test subject in a trial of an experimental therapy that would, for the first time, use gene therapy to train a patient's immune system to recognize and destroy their cancer in the same way it dispatches bacteria and viruses. The strategy is the latest development in immunotherapy,

a revolutionary approach to cancer treatment that uses a series of precision strikes to disintegrate cancer from within the body itself. Joining the trial was risky, since other attempts to activate the immune system hadn't really worked in the past. Mandy, her husband James and Kaitlyn traveled from their home in Texas

## TURNING THE BODY INTO A CANCER FIGHTER

A breakthrough new approach, awaiting FDA approval, has the potential to transform cancer treatment by converting the body's own cells into cancer-destroying agents. Here's how it works:



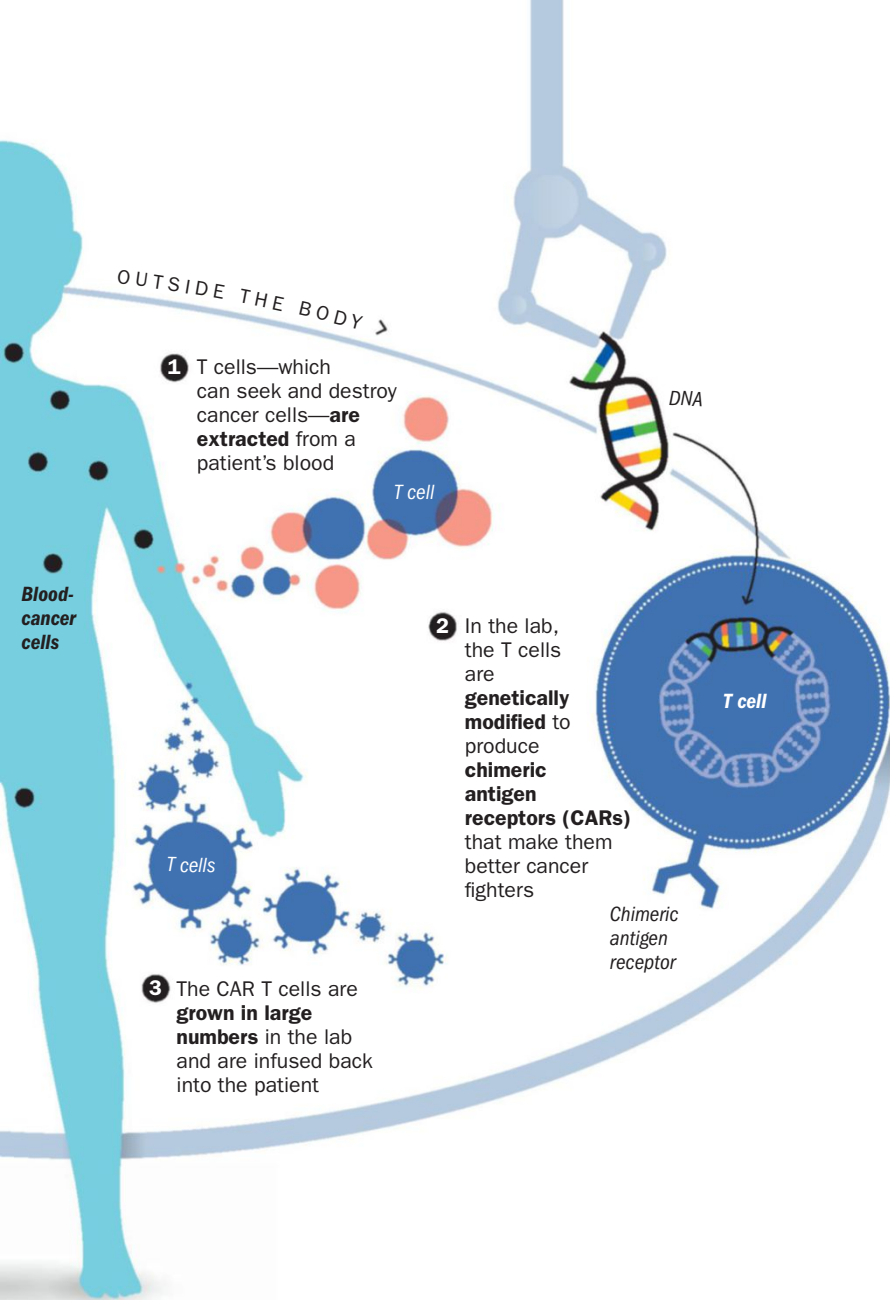
Kaitlyn at age 5, after receiving her own genetically modified immune cells

to Children's Hospital of Philadelphia (CHOP), where they stayed in a hotel for eight weeks while Kaitlyn received the therapy and recovered. "The thought crossed my mind that Kaitlyn might not come home again," says Mandy. "I couldn't tell you how many times I would be in the bathroom at the hospital, spending an hour in the shower just crying, thinking, What are we going to do if this doesn't help her?"

But it did. After receiving the therapy in 2015, the cancer cells in Kaitlyn's body melted away. Test after test, including one that picks up one cancer cell in a million, still can't detect any malignant cells lurking in Kaitlyn's blood. What saved Kaitlyn was an infusion of her own immune cells that were genetically

COURTESY JOHNSON FAMILY





modified to destroy her leukemia. “You take someone who essentially has no possibility for a cure—almost every single one of these patients dies—and with [this] therapy, 90% go into remission,” says Dr. David Porter, director of blood and bone-marrow transplantation at the University of Pennsylvania. Such radical immune-based approaches were launched in 2011 with the success of intravenous drugs that loosen the brakes on the immune system so it can see cancer cells and destroy them with the same vigor with which they attack bacteria and viruses. Now, with the genetically engineered immune cells known as chimeric antigen receptor (CAR) T cells that were used in Kaitlyn’s study, doctors are crippling cancer in more

precise and targeted ways than surgery, chemotherapy and radiation ever could. While the first cancer immunotherapies were broadly aimed at any cancer, experts are now repurposing the immune system into a personalized precision treatment that can not only recognize but also eliminate the cancer cells unique to each individual patient.

What makes immune-based therapies like CAR T cell therapy so promising—and so powerful—is that they are a living drug churned out by the patients themselves. The treatment isn’t a pill or a liquid that has to be taken regularly, but a one-hit wonder that, when given a single time, trains the body to keep on treating, ideally for a lifetime.

“This therapy is utterly transformative

for this kind of leukemia and also lymphoma,” says Stephan Grupp, director of the cancer immunotherapy program at CHOP and one of the lead doctors treating patients in the study in which Kaitlyn participated.

Eager to bring this groundbreaking option to more patients, including those with other types of cancers, an advisory panel for the Food and Drug Administration voted unanimously in July to move the therapy beyond the testing phase, during which several hundred people have been able to take advantage of it, to become a standard therapy for children with certain leukemias if all other treatments have failed. While the FDA isn’t obligated to follow the panel’s advice, it often does, and it is expected to announce its decision in a matter of weeks.

Across the country, doctors are racing to enroll people with other cancers—breast, prostate, pancreatic, ovarian, sarcoma and brain, including the kind diagnosed in Senator John McCain—in hundreds of trials to see if they, too, will benefit from this novel approach. They are even cautiously allowing themselves to entertain the idea that this living drug may even lead to a cure for some of these patients. Curing cancers, rather than treating them, would result in a significant drop in the more than \$120 billion currently spent each year on cancer care in the U.S., as well as untold suffering.

**THIS REVOLUTIONARY THERAPY**, however, almost didn’t happen. While the idea of using the body’s immune cells against cancer has been around for a long time, the practical reality had proved daunting. Unlike infection-causing bacteria and viruses that are distinctly foreign to the body, cancer cells start out as healthy cells that mutate and grow out of control, and the immune system is loath to target its own cells.

“Only a handful of people were doing the research,” says Dr. Carl June, director of the Center for Cellular Immunotherapy at the University of Pennsylvania’s Abramson Cancer Center and the scientist who pioneered the therapy. A graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, June is all too familiar with the devastating effects of cancer, having lost his first wife to ovarian cancer and battled skin cancer himself. Trial after trial failed as reinfusions of

immune cells turned out to be more of a hit-or-miss endeavor than a reliable road to remission.

After spending nearly three decades on the problem, June zeroed in on a malignant fingerprint that could be exploited to stack the deck of a cancer patient's immune system with the right destructive cells to destroy the cancer.

In the case of leukemias, that marker turned out to be CD19, a protein that all cancerous blood cells sprout on their surface. June repurposed immune cells to carry a protein that would stick to CD19, along with another marker that would activate the immune cells to start attacking the cancer more aggressively once they found their malignant marks. Using a design initially developed by researchers at St. Jude Children's Research Hospital for such a combination, June and his colleague Bruce Levine perfected a way to genetically modify and grow these cancer-fighting cells in abundance in the lab and to test them in animals with leukemia. The resulting immune platoon of CAR T cells is uniquely equipped to ferret out and destroy cancer cells. But getting them into patients is a complex process. Doctors first remove a patient's immune cells from the blood, genetically tweak them in the lab to carry June's cancer-targeting combination and then infuse the modified cells back into the patient using an IV.

Because these repurposed immune cells continue to survive and divide, the therapy continues to work for months, years and, doctors hope, perhaps a lifetime. Similar to the way vaccines prompt the body to produce immune cells that can provide lifelong protection against viruses and bacteria, CAR T cell therapy could be a way to immunize against cancer. "The word *vaccination* would not be inappropriate," says Dr. Otis Brawley, chief medical officer of the American Cancer Society.

June's therapy worked surprisingly well in mice, shrinking tumors and, in some cases, eliminating them altogether. He applied for a grant at the National Cancer Institute at the National Institutes of Health to study the therapy in people from 2010 to 2011. But the idea was still so new that many scientists believed that testing it in people was too risky. In 1999, a teenager died days after receiving an

experimental dose of genes to correct an inherited disorder, and anything involving gene therapy was viewed suspiciously. While such deaths aren't entirely unusual in experimental studies, there were ethical questions about whether the teenager and his family were adequately informed of the risks and concerns that the doctor in charge of the study had a financial conflict of interest in seeing the therapy develop. Officials in charge of the program acknowledged that important questions were raised by the trial and said they took the questions and concerns very seriously. But the entire gene-therapy program was shut down. All of that occurred at the University of Pennsylvania—where June was. His grant application was rejected.

It would take two more years before private funders—the Leukemia and Lymphoma Society and an alumnus of the university who was eager to support new cancer treatments—donated \$5 million to give June the chance to bring his therapy to the first human patients.

**THE DATE JULY 31** has always been a milestone for Bill Ludwig, a retired corrections officer in New Jersey. It's the day that he joined the Marines as an 18-year-old, and the day, 30 years later, that he married his wife Darla.

It was also the day he went to the hospital to become the first person ever to receive the combination gene and CAR T cell therapy, in 2010. For Ludwig, the experimental therapy was his only remaining option. Like many people with leukemia, Ludwig had been living on borrowed time for a decade, counting the days between the chemotherapy treatments that would hold the cancer in his blood cells at bay for a time. Inevitably, like weeds in an untended garden, the leukemia cells would grow and take over his blood system again.

But the periods of reprieve were getting dangerously short. "I was running out of treatments," says Ludwig. So when his doctor mentioned the trial conducted by June and Porter at the University of Pennsylvania, he didn't hesitate. "I never thought that the clinical trial was going to cure me," he says. "I just wanted to live and to continue to fight. If there was something that would put me into the next month, still breathing, then that's what I was looking for."

When Ludwig signed the consent form for the treatment, he wasn't even told what to expect in terms of side effects or adverse reactions. The scientists had no way of predicting what would happen. "They explained that I was the first and that they obviously had no case law, so to speak," he says. So when he was hit with a severe fever, had difficulty breathing, showed signs of kidney failure and was admitted to the intensive care unit, he assumed that the treatment wasn't working.

His condition deteriorated so quickly and so intensely that doctors told him to call his family to his bedside, just four days after he received the modified cells. "I told my family I loved them and that I knew why they were there," he says. "I had already gone and had a cemetery plot, and already paid for my funeral."

Rather than signaling the end, Ludwig's severe illness turned out to be evidence that the immune cells he received were furiously at work, eliminating and sweeping away the huge burden of cancer cells choking up his bloodstream. But his doctors did not realize it at the time.

It wasn't until the second patient, Doug Olson, who received his CAR T cells about six weeks after Ludwig, that Porter had a eureka moment. When he received the call that Olson was also running a high fever, having trouble breathing and showing abnormal lab results, Porter realized that these were signs that the treatment was working. "It happens when you kill huge amounts of cancer cells all at the same time," Porter says. What threw him off initially is that it's rare for anything to wipe out that much cancer in people with Ludwig's and Olson's disease. June and Porter have since calculated that the T cells obliterated anywhere from 2.5 lb. to 7 lb. of cancer in Ludwig's and Olson's bodies. "I couldn't fathom that this is why they both were so sick," says Porter. "But I realized this is the cells: they were working, and working rapidly. It was not something we see with chemotherapy or anything else we have to treat this cancer."

**LUDWIG HAS NOW** been in remission for seven years, and his success led to the larger study of CAR T cell therapy in children like Kaitlyn, who no longer respond to existing treatments for their cancer. The only side effect Ludwig has





is a weakened immune system; because the treatment wipes out a category of his immune cells—the ones that turned cancerous—he returns to the University of Pennsylvania every seven weeks for an infusion of immunoglobulins to protect him from pneumonia and colds. Olson, too, is still cancer-free.

While the number of people who have received CAR T cell therapy is still small, the majority are in remission. That's especially encouraging for children, whose lives are permanently disrupted by the repeated cycles of treatments that currently are their only option. "It's a chance for these kids to have a normal life and a normal childhood that doesn't involve constant infusions, transfusions, infections and being away from their home, family and school," says Dr. Gwen Nichols, chief medical officer of the Leukemia and Lymphoma Society.

The hope is that while CAR T cell therapy will at first be reserved for people who have failed to respond to all standard treatments, eventually they won't have to wait that long. As doctors learn from pioneers like Kaitlyn, Ludwig and Olson, they will have more confidence in pushing the therapy earlier, when patients are stronger and the cancer is less



Ludwig with his prized RV, above, and in 2010 receiving the revolutionary CAR T cell therapy

advanced—perhaps as a replacement for or in combination with other treatments.

The severe immune reaction triggered by the therapy remains a big concern. While it can be monitored in the hospital and managed with steroids or antibodies that fight inflammation, there have been deaths in other trials involving CAR T cells. One drug company put one of its studies on hold due to the toxic side effects. "I am excited by CAR T therapy, but I'm also worried that some people might get too excited," says the American Cancer Society's Brawley. "It's important that we proceed slowly and do this

meticulously so that we develop this in the right way."

For now, CAR T cells are expensive—some analysts estimate that each patient's batch of cells would cost hundreds of thousands of dollars—because they require a bespoke production process. If approved, Novartis, which licensed the technology from the University of Pennsylvania, will provide the therapy in about 35 cancer centers in the U.S. by the end of the year. Other companies are already working toward universal T cells that could be created for off-the-shelf use in any patient with cancer. "This is just the beginning," says June.

Since Ludwig's cancer has been in remission, he and his wife have packed their RV and taken the vacations they missed while he was a slave to his cancer and chemotherapy schedule. This year, they're visiting Mount Rushmore, Grand Teton National Park and Yellowstone National Park before taking their granddaughter to Disney World in the fall. "When they told me I was cancer-free, it was just like someone said, 'You won the lottery,'" he says. "If somebody else with this disease has the chance to walk in my shoes and live past it, that would be the greatest gift for me." □



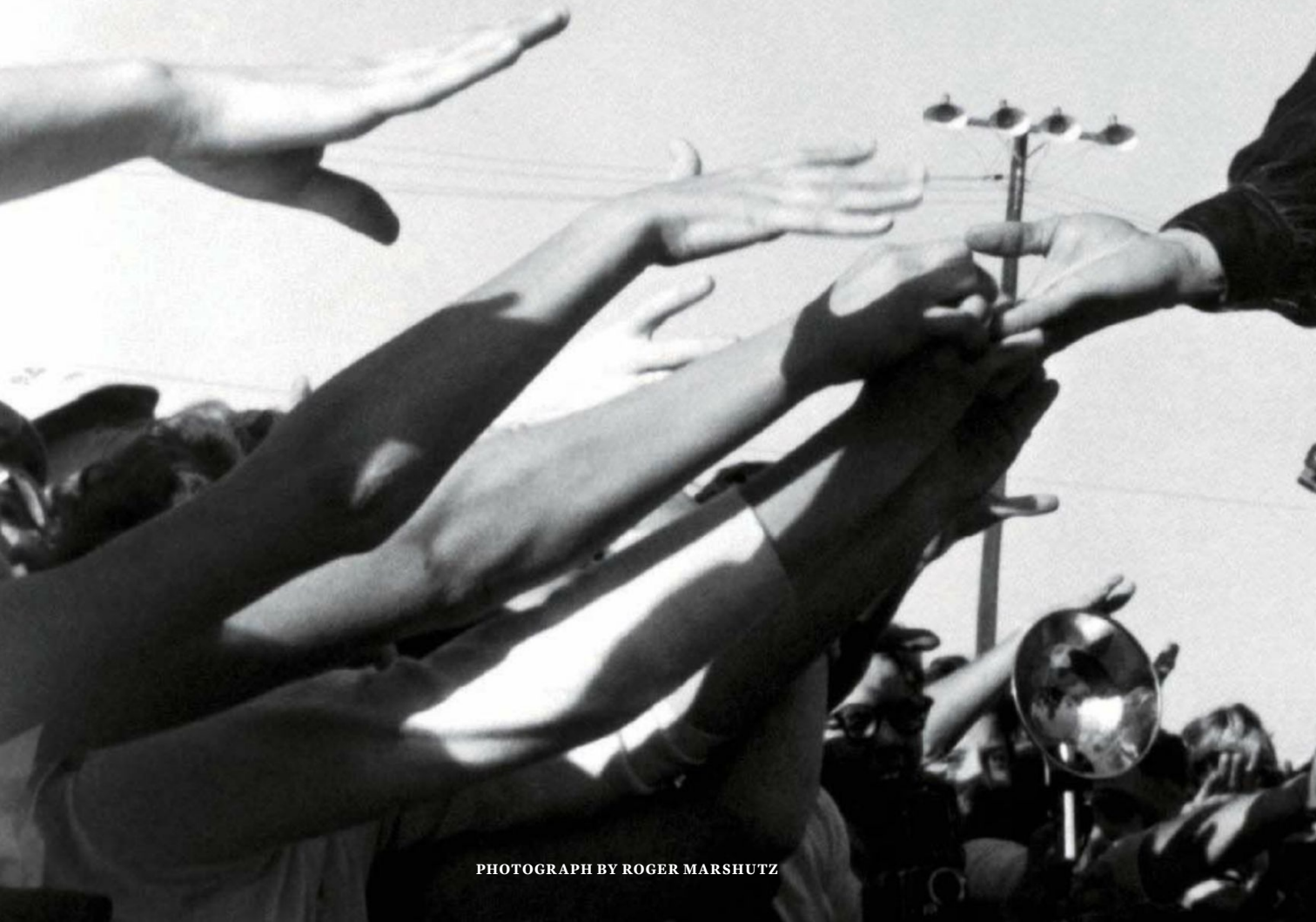
Culture

# ELVIS IN THE HEART OF

# ✧ AMERICA ✧

*What the rise, fall and rebirth of an icon tells us about  
who we were—and who we are now, 40 years after his death*

BY JON MEACHAM



PHOTOGRAPH BY ROGER MARSHUTZ



*Elvis Presley  
performing at  
the Mississippi-  
Alabama Fair and  
Dairy Show in 1956  
in Tupelo, Miss.*



CONSIDERING THE SOURCE, IT WAS A STARTLING claim. A longtime lieutenant of TIME and LIFE founder Henry Luce, journalist Richard Clurman found himself chatting one day in the late 1960s with Leonard Bernstein, the legendary composer and conductor of the New York Philharmonic. “Elvis Presley,” Bernstein said, “is the greatest cultural force in the 20th century.” Taken aback, Clurman, who recounted the exchange to the writer David Halberstam, offered an alternative.

“What about Picasso?” Clurman ventured.

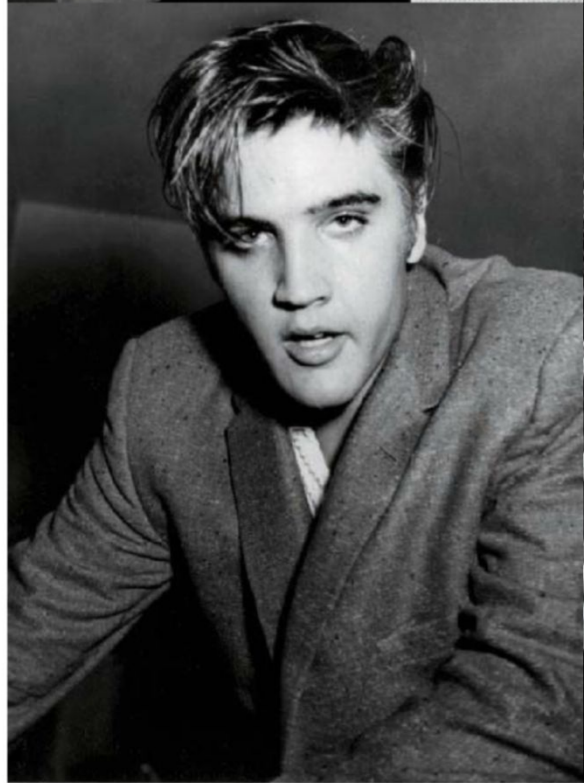
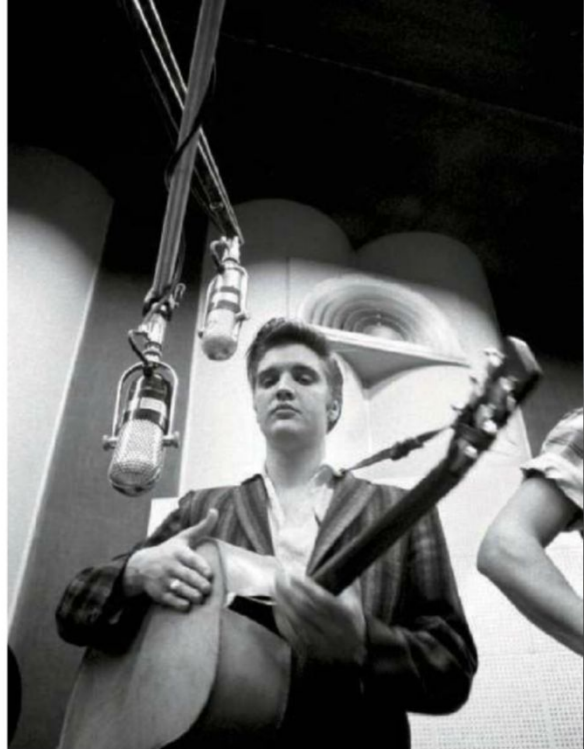
“No, it’s Elvis,” Bernstein insisted. “He introduced the beat to everything and he changed everything—music, language, clothes, it’s a whole new social revolution—the ‘60s come from it.”

As does so much else. Forty years after Presley’s August 1977 death in an upstairs bathroom at Graceland, his Memphis mansion, the revolution Bernstein identified unfolds still. With an estimated 1 billion units sold and counting, Presley is thought to be the most commercially successful solo musical artist of all time. Last year, the Recording Industry Association of America certified the *Essential Elvis* record platinum, and in 2016, Presley was, according to *Forbes*, the fourth top-earning dead celebrity in America, trailing only Michael Jackson (who, in an only-in-America twist, was once married to Presley’s daughter), cartoonist Charles Schulz and golfer Arnold Palmer. Legions of fans—many of whom were born after the King was found lifeless, his body wracked by opioids—treat him as a Christ-like figure, a man born on the fringes who attracted a great following and who some still believe is not dead. The site this month of a panel discussion with Priscilla Presley, a sold-out “Ultimate Elvis Tribute Artist Contest Showcase” and a vigil on the anniversary of his death, Graceland is among the most-visited private homes in the nation along with the White House, which is fitting, since the Presley phenomenon has particular resonance in the age of *Hillbilly Elegy*. “What he did was earthshaking,” says Tim McGraw, the country-music superstar who counts Presley as a huge influence. “He changed not only the music that we make but social norms and the way we looked at each other.”

He also changed how we are able to look at, and experience, him in the 21st century. Ted Harrison, a British writer and broadcaster who’s done landmark work on the Presley phenomenon, notes that investors in the “Elvis brand,” thanks to the Presley family, have had unusual artistic and commercial freedom. Next up: a hologram Elvis that can carry an entire concert. “Elvis,” Harrison says, “will continue to grow.” Fans, it turns out, need never have a lonesome night.

The Presley legend has proved durable and intriguing not least because it mirrors much of American culture in the artist’s lifetime and beyond. His

fantastic rise and long, sad slide into an overweight, gun-toting, prescription-drug-abusing conspiracy theorist about communism and the counterculture (he hated the Beatles, once telling President Nixon that the British band threatened American values) tap into fundamental questions about race, mass culture, sexuality and working-class anxiety in a postwar America. A poor boy made good in the prosperous 1950s, Presley experienced tension and feared disorder in the 1960s before breaking down totally in the hectic 1970s. In his music and



➤ Clockwise from top left: Recording at RCA Victor Studio in New York City in July 1956; playing piano in June 1956, before his appearance on The Steve Allen Show in New York City; onstage at Russwood Park in Memphis in July 1956; at the Ellis Auditorium in Memphis in May 1956





movies, in his private worlds at Graceland and in Las Vegas, Presley was a forerunner of the reality-TV era in which celebrities play an outside role in the imaginative lives of their fans. Before Diana, before Michael, before Kim, before Trump, there was Elvis.

### I. RISING SUN

Presley was born in Tupelo, Miss., in 1935 in the hilly upcountry region of the state that the writer Julia Reed has described as the Balkans of the South. (The other two distinct Mississippi worlds are the Delta

and the Gulf Coast.) His father struggled to eke out a living, working different jobs and signing up for FDR's Works Progress Administration after doing time at Mississippi's Parchman prison for forging a check. His mother was devoted to her son, all the more so because Presley had had a twin brother who was stillborn. Presley grew up as a member of the Assembly of God, a denomination that emphasized personal religious experiences. Music and singing were essential means of creating ecstatic moments of transcendence: a vibrant, emotional, very public form of faith. The individual was the vessel of the Holy Spirit—a performer, if only for the congregation.

Eventually the family moved to Memphis, which was perfect for Presley. A longtime cotton hub, the city, like Presley himself, sat between the blues-soaked Delta and the virtually all-white country-and-western music world of Nashville. In the summer of 1954, after a brief, not-quite-successful visit the year before, Presley cut a record with the producer Sam Phillips, who ran Sun Records on Union Avenue.

A few weeks later, at an open-air performance at Overton Park Shell in Memphis, Presley played the two songs from that recording. As Joel Williamson, a scholar of Southern history, observed, Presley took "That's All Right" (written by an African-American blues musician, Arthur Crudup) and "Blue Moon of Kentucky" (written by a white bluegrass man, Bill Monroe) and made them his own. "Elvis, using his God-given rich and versatile voice, perfected by practice, gave [the songs] a different turn," Williamson wrote. "Just as 'That's All Right' was not black anymore, 'Blue Moon' was no longer hillbilly; it was joyous, country-come-to-town and damn glad to be there." The audience, led by ecstatic young women, went wild. "I was scared stiff," Presley recalled. "Everyone was hollering, and I didn't know what they were hollering at."

That much, at least, should have been clear: they were hollering at him, transported by his electric physicality and extraordinary voice, which ranged comfortably from baritone to tenor and above. He did not simply sing; he became the music, as though possessed by a spirit of joy and release back at the Assembly of God. It was sexual, yes, and thus disturbing to the more placid and puritanical observers, but it was inescapably religious too, in the sense that religion evokes realities ordinarily hidden from the human eye. Here, on a covered stage in a park in western Tennessee, a white man was drawing on the deep tradition of African-American blues. In the popular mind, a fresh genre—a different epoch—was emerging. "Before Elvis," John Lennon is said to have remarked, "there was nothing."

That was not strictly true. Presley was a vehicle—cultural critics would say he was basically a mimic, or even a thief—of the black musical and spiritual experiences of his native Mississippi. Phillips, the



## 1B

Estimated number of units Presley's music has sold, making him the most commercially successful solo music artist of all time

Presley autographing photos in Houston in 1956



82.6 %

Rating of Presley's first appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, on Sept. 9, 1956. He later played on the program two more times. He was paid \$50,000 for the shows, a huge sum at that time.

maestro of Sun Records who recorded artists such as B.B. King and Ike Turner in a still-segregated South, understood the underlying realities of Jim Crow America. Chuck Berry and Little Richard would be early breakout stars across the color line, but Phillips believed that would not be enough to integrate the cultural and commercial markets. "I knew that for black music to come to its rightful place in this country, we had to have some white singers come over and do black music—not copy it, not change, not sweeten it. Just *do it*," he said. With Presley's emergence (as well as Bill Haley's and Jerry Lee Lewis', among others), Phillips' prophecy came true, but not without resentment from the architects of the tradition Presley was drawing on. "I was making everybody rich, and I was poor," said Crudup, who originally recorded "That's All Right." "I was born poor, I live poor, and I'm going to die poor."

In the white mainstream, Presley's story was quintessentially American—a striver rising to riches from largely impoverished obscurity (his family lived in a federal housing project in Memphis after moving to Tennessee) on the strength of his talent, not on the circumstances of his birth. "I don't know what it is," Presley told the *Saturday Evening Post*

in 1956. "I just fell into it, really. My daddy and I were laughing about it the other day. He looked at me and said, 'What happened, E? The last thing I can remember is I was working in a can factory and you were drivin' a truck' ... It just caught us up."

## II. THE SURGE

Presley emerged at the moment the machinery of post-World War II mass culture began to hum. The world was on the move; old barriers were under siege; new possibilities were opening up. It was the age of the GI Bill and *Brown v. Board of Education*, suburbs and television, interstate highways and fast food. Material prosperity in Eisenhower's America was startling. Families whose forebears had struggled on the fringes of farming and of debilitating manufacturing work suddenly had more money (and more things, ranging from TVs to washing machines) than they could have imagined two decades before, in the depths of an economic crash that seemed to go on forever. When John Maynard Keynes was asked whether there had ever been anything like the Great Depression, he had replied, "Yes. It was called the Dark Ages, and it lasted 400 years." One unexpected benefit from

## THE ONCE AND FUTURE KING

Elvis Presley is born in Tupelo, Miss., to Gladys and Vernon Presley. >



Presley makes one of his first public performances, at the Mississippi-Alabama Fair and Dairy Show. His song earns him a fifth-place prize, and months later he begins playing guitar.

The Presley family moves to Memphis. Presley soon becomes interested in the local blues scene.



< Presley signs with RCA in a deal worth \$40,000.

JAN. 8, 1935

OCT. 3, 1945

NOV. 1948

NOV. 1955



the postwar boom was rising disposable income. Teenagers were able to consume the product that Presley was offering.

A key element of that product: overt sexuality. This wasn't Bing Crosby up there; it wasn't even Frank Sinatra, who sang so intimately and so searchingly. Presley was something much different. Beyond his husky, unique voice, the artist, with his gyrating hips and hooded eyes, seemed to embody desire more than any other popular male performer of his time. One report in Presley's vast FBI file—created and maintained under the decades-long reign of J. Edgar Hoover—described a La Crosse, Wis., show in lurid terms. It was, the writer said, "the filthiest and most harmful production that ever came to La Crosse for exhibition to teenagers"; Presley projected nothing less than "sexual gratification on stage."

A white man singing traditionally black music; a young performer with sexual heat; a Southern kid going national: little wonder Presley struck so many as so refreshing in the mid-1950s. "Hearing him for the first time," said Bob Dylan, "was like busting out of jail." Many women, particularly young women, had a similar reaction.

### III. AT THE ZENITH

It's an oft-told story: on Sept. 9, 1956, Presley made his first appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, the Sunday-night cultural juggernaut, producing an 82.6% TV rating. His second turn on the show was also a blockbuster, and by the time Presley sang for Sullivan on a third occasion—when CBS directed the cameras to show Presley only from the waist up—the buttoned-down host had been won over. "I wanted to say to Elvis Presley and the country," Sullivan intoned, "that this is a real decent, fine boy."

Religiosity also helped Presley win broader acceptance. As with so many Southern men, he could seem equally at home in church as he did in juke joints. Americans are familiar with the type: we had one for President for two terms at the close of the 20th century. Bill Clinton's mother Virginia worshipped Presley, and Memphis was to Hot Springs as John Winthrop's "city upon a hill" was to sentimental patriots. Clinton's own longtime affection for the King isn't

surprising. Presley was a model compartmentalizer, creating music that celebrated a freer attitude toward sex while simultaneously releasing gospel tracks. As has often been remarked of charismatic figures such as the fictional James Bond and the real-life Presley, women wanted to be with him; men just wanted to be him.

Presley took that potent formula for success to Hollywood as soon as he could. Upon seeing Presley perform, Jackie Gleason, who in addition to acting and comedy produced a national Saturday-night broadcast called *Stage Show*, remarked, "He's a guitar-playing Marlon Brando." Presley would never come close to Brando as an actor, but Gleason was onto something: Presley's appeal was like Brando's or James Dean's, that of a rebel straining against the strictures of the middle-class world that bought his records—Presley had a string of hits beginning in the mid-'50s—and went to his movies. As David Halberstam put it in his book on the era, *The Fifties*, "a great deal" of Presley's force came from "the look: sultry, alienated, a little misunderstood, the rebel who wanted to rebel without ever leaving home." Presley, Halberstam wrote, "was perfect because he was the safe rebel."

Presley's films, often formulaic, were safe to the point of stolid. He made four from 1956 to 1958: *Love Me Tender*, *Loving You*, *Jailhouse Rock* and *King Creole*. Presley sang through most of his roles, though much of his movie work brings to mind President Reagan's observation about the studio mill. "They didn't want them good," Reagan said, "they wanted them Thursday." Still, Presley adored being on the big screen, and his musical career, so meteoric in the '50s, stalled somewhat in the '60s.

### IV. COMEBACK AND DESCENT

In 1968, everything in Presley's universe changed. In the wider world, it was the year of Tet; President Johnson's sudden withdrawal from the presidential race; the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy; and, in November, the election of Richard Nixon. For Elvis, '68 was the year of his "comeback" special, which aired on NBC. To watch the show is to see a master performer at the top of his



**114**

Number of top 40 hits by Presley, 18 of which went to No. 1. He also won three Grammy Awards for his gospel music.



◀ Presley releases his eponymous debut album. It is the first rock 'n' roll album to get to the No. 1 spot on the *Billboard* chart, a position it holds for 10 weeks.



◀ His second performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, after which moralists in Nashville and St. Louis burn him in effigy. His audiences grow increasingly crazed.

Presley is conscripted as an Army private. He serves in Friedberg, West Germany, where he meets his future wife Priscilla. Presley was discharged from active duty as a sergeant on March 5, 1960.

MARCH 23, 1956

OCT. 28, 1956

MARCH 24, 1958



31

Number of feature films that Presley made. He also starred in two concert documentaries.

game. Lithe, beautifully costumed in black leather and as handsome as ever, Presley sings, plays and dances in the round, surrounded by an audience that's more sedate yet just as rapt as the ecstatic crowds of the '50s.

Not long afterward the last chapter began. He had married Priscilla Beaulieu in 1967 and divorced her six years later; they had one daughter, Lisa Marie, born in 1968. Presley gained weight and found himself taking more and more prescription uppers and downers. He created an insular life populated by a swirl of women, who were often quite young, and by "the guys," his Memphis mafia of musicians, bodyguards and hangers-on who catered to the whims of the King. It was the oldest story in the annals of celebrity: a star becomes ever more reclusive and eccentric as his fame grows beyond measure. Lord Acton's dictum about absolute power corrupting absolutely has a show-business analogue: absolute notoriety all too often tends to corrupt absolutely too.

Presley's descent was marked by an obsession with collecting police badges and firearms; it was as if he were seeking the emblems and means of control as he himself grew more erratic. In 1970, en route to Washington, Presley wrote Nixon a letter on American Airlines notepaper claiming that he had new insights into the youth unrest across the country as well as communist "brainwashing" techniques. Would the President be interested in Presley's becoming a secret agent of the federal government? The request led to an impromptu meeting in the Oval Office, where a puzzled Nixon listened to Presley's ramblings about the moral degeneration of the country.

Although the session itself was bizarre—Presley had basically presented himself at the White House without an appointment, only to be admitted to see Nixon—the content of the conversation was perhaps not that different from what many white Americans of Presley's background would have said to the President at the time. Presley came from the white working class, a demographic that had helped elect Nixon, who in a speech a year earlier had referred to his base as "the great silent majority"—the ones who didn't protest, who didn't grow their hair long, who didn't burn their draft cards or run the country

down. In a concert in the 1970s, Presley included a bit of "Dixie Land" and climaxed with a stirring section of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" as well as gospel numbers. And so, like the nation in the years of Vietnam and Watergate, he was awash in both patriotism and self-indulgence, clinging sentimentally to an older, warmer vision of America even as he fed his own appetites for opioids and fried peanut butter and banana sandwiches. Presley's own contradictions were similar to the country's as it hurtled through a difficult and self-involved decade.

He would not, of course, see the '70s through. In the middle of August 1977, preparing for yet another tour, Presley was found dead at Graceland, officially of heart failure. There was much controversy about the cause of death, but what's clear is that he died an opioid addict. It has long been reported that from January 1977 until his death, his doctor, the flashy George "Nick" Nichopoulos, had prescribed at least 8,805 pills and sundry forms of drugs that included Dilaudid, Quaalude, Percodan, Demerol and cocaine hydrochloride. (To reconstruct the prescription record, investigators had to contact 153 pharmacies in the aftermath of Presley's death.) He was 42 years old.

## V. THE AFTERLIFE

Presley's death marked an odd new beginning. Tribute artists proliferated, and still do, filling venues with fans young and old. Admirers make their pilgrimages to Graceland. The truly devoted marry in chapels presided over by proto-Elvises in full costume, with the King's music playing softly in the background. Why such a vibrant afterlife? There are Sinatra fans, but you don't read about thousands beating a path to Hoboken or believing Ol' Blue Eyes is really alive and well in Buenos Aires. (The latter was a persistent rumor in the wake of Presley's death—that he had faked the whole thing and bought a ticket to South America under an alias.) "If you're an Elvis fan, no explanation is necessary. If you're not an Elvis fan, no explanation is possible," Presley friend George Klein told Harrison, the British writer and broadcaster, who also authored the engaging 2016 book *The Death and Resurrection of Elvis Presley*.

CONCERT: ALDEN MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES (2); JAILHOUSE ROCK: JOHN SPRINGER COLLECTION/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES; NIXON: MP/GETTY IMAGES; FUNERAL: ALAIN LE GARSMEUR—GETTY IMAGES

Presley begins acting in films, most of which are low-budget musical comedies. They are critically panned but profitable. >



Presley's "comeback" show airs; it is NBC's second most-watched special that year.



< Presley meets with President Nixon at the White House and expresses his disapproval of the counterculture. Nixon encourages Presley to "retain his credibility" so as to positively influence young people.

1960S

DEC. 3, 1968

DEC. 21, 1970





Presley onstage in 1972, the same year he played four sold-out shows at Madison Square Garden in New York City



# 600K

Average number of yearly visitors to Graceland since it opened to the public in 1982

The roots of that elusive explanation, however, may lie not in the mechanics of traditional celebrity but in the sociology of a force that was always vital in the lives of Presley's most ardent fans: religion. In death, Presley has become a quasidivine figure whose savior-like appeal comes from his journey from the ordinary to the extraordinary. "It is very common for people to experience the divine in what can only be an inadequate human being," Karen Armstrong, a scholar of world religions, told Harrison for his 1997 BBC documentary *Elvis and the Presleytarians*. "The essential and amazing thing about the spiritual quest is that the divine is able to be apprehended at all. So of course we think that Elvis is a grossly inadequate symbol of the divine, but one could have said the same of Jesus, after all. He died the death, the very common death, of a disgraced criminal."

The trappings of the Presley legacy do echo religious ceremonies. His tribute artists—or priests, if you will—dress in white costumes, re-enact the actions and speak the words of the cultic founder, and make promises. In the Christian worldview, there is salvation, the forgiveness of sin; in the Presley ethos, there is freedom from restraint, affirmation. "His whole existence was to take guilt away from people," the psychologist Richard Maddock told Harrison. "He started out that way and ended up that

way. The first phase, on television in the 1950s, he did things that in those days people only did in private. It was like he was saying, O.K., you don't have to feel guilty about it. In the second phase of his career, he added something. In his concerts, he not only did the movements and motions, by that time commonly accepted, but he also added spiritual songs at the end. In effect he was saying, Not only are your impulses O.K.—now they are blessed."

Was Leonard Bernstein right? Did the whole '60s come from Presley? Surely much of it did, and the '70s too, and the '80s, up to our own day. Presley's life is a kind of American tragedy—a talent of epic proportions cut short by indulgence and appetite—but if his story is personally tragic, it's a story that is not yet over. Shawn Klush, a Presley tribute artist who was on HBO's *Vinyl*, will be at Graceland this month for the anniversary of the King's death. "I believe Elvis remains so popular 40 years after his death mainly in part due to the kind of man he was," Klush says. "People love him, not only for his talent, but because he was a great, humble, kind man. He loved God. He loved his parents. He loved his country." And his country loved him—for his voice, for his spirit and because it saw in him, for better and for worse, what it was and what it hoped to be. —*With reporting by ANNA RUMER/WASHINGTON* □

After years of growing distance and infidelity on both sides, Elvis and Priscilla divorce.

Presley's health deteriorates. An abuser of prescription drugs, he suffers from glaucoma, high blood pressure and other issues.



Presley's girlfriend discovers him unresponsive in a bathroom at Graceland. He is pronounced dead that afternoon.



80,000 fans turn out for Presley's funeral.

OCT. 9, 1973

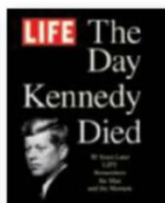
1970S

AUG. 16, 1977

AUG. 18, 1977

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# Time Off

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## Aubrey Plaza's status update

By Eliza Berman

PHOTOGRAPH BY SIGNE PIERCE FOR TIME



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"IT'S BEAUTIFUL. SHOULD I TAKE A PICTURE FOR MY Instagram?" Aubrey Plaza stands up to snap an iPhone photo of the avocado toast that's just arrived at our table. She carefully moves our water glasses to declutter the shot, which she says she'll post the week her new movie, *Ingrid Goes West*, hits theaters. In the film, her character also uploads a perfect portrait of the overpriced green grub to her Instagram, with the aim of impressing a social-media influencer she wants to befriend. Now Plaza shakes her head and laughs, saying, "This is stupid." She's humoring me, because I've asked her to meet me—in honor of the film's theme of millennial social-media obsession—at lower Manhattan's Café Gitane, the birthplace of the food trend that's become an Instagram cliché.

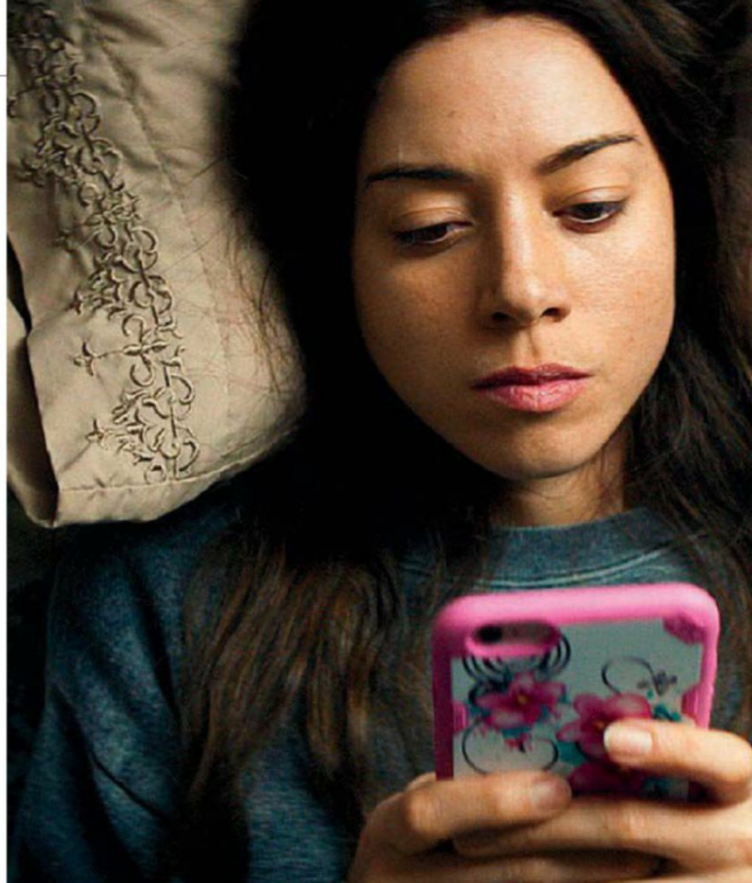
Plaza, 33, hates social media. But she's willing to 'gram and tweet as much as necessary to get people to see the film, which she also co-produced. Directed and co-written by newcomer Matt Spicer, *Ingrid* follows a lonely young woman who, after the death of her mother, uses her inheritance to move across the country, make herself over and befriend an Insta-celebrity (Elizabeth Olsen) who's famous because she eats the right toast and wears the right floppy hats. Plaza is brilliant, playing Ingrid with a teetering balance of fragility and derangement.

*Ingrid* is also a window into a phenomenon with which Plaza is familiar: the gulf between who people are and who others perceive them to be. It's been two years since she said goodbye to April Ludgate, the enthusiastically apathetic municipal cog she played for seven seasons on NBC's *Parks and Recreation*. But many of Plaza's fans hold fast to the notion that Aubrey is April and April is Aubrey. Plaza cops to being complicit in the confusion. "I have a whole cycle of feeding this persona that has been projected onto me," she says. "My reaction to it as a people pleaser is to give that back, which isn't always authentic to who I really am."

**PLAZA HAS WANTED** to be an actor since her first acting workshop around the age of 10. At her all-girls Catholic school in Wilmington, Del., she was both a type-A student running for president of every student organization and a class clown. Like April, she loved Halloween, but not for its celebration of the macabre. She loved that it allowed her to dress up in costumes and play characters—in other words, to act.

When she wasn't in school, her life revolved around movies: making them, watching them and checking them out to customers at a video-rental shop. She worked there alongside her aunt, who introduced her to independent films like Christopher Guest's *Waiting for Guffman* and John Waters' *Serial Mom*. She also fondly remembers watching *Jurassic Park* and anything that ended with a kiss between Tom Hanks and Meg Ryan. "It wasn't like I was watching Fellini," she says.

Her film education continued when she went to New York University's Tisch School of the Arts and honed her comedy



^  
In *Ingrid Goes West*, Plaza's character seeks connections online as a reprieve from loneliness

skills at the Upright Citizens Brigade, co-founded by future *Parks* co-star Amy Poehler. She hoped to have a career like Adam Sandler's: join *Saturday Night Live*, make her own movies and take on the occasional dramatic role. But before she got the chance to emulate Sandler, she was cast opposite him in Judd Apatow's *Funny People*, after which she began her gig on *Parks*.

Since then, Plaza has proved that she can do much more than roll her chestnut eyes. In *The To Do List*, her virgin valedictorian brings a Poindexter-tinged mania to completing a Trapper Keeper full of sexual ventures before college. In the raunch-fest *Mike and Dave Need Wedding Dates*, she played a crass manipulator who smokes weed out of apples and eats leering bros for breakfast (metaphorically speaking—the zombie she played in *Life After Beth* literally does eat dudes).

If there's a common denominator, it's a smidge of sociopathy—which makes Plaza perfect to play Ingrid. The character's behavior in the film's opening scene—crashing a wedding and pepper-spraying the hashtag-happy bride—could easily be classified as crazy. But Plaza grappled with whether or not Ingrid was actually mentally ill. "Borderline personality kept coming up when I was trying to understand what

INGRID GOES WEST (2): NEON; PARKS AND RECREATION: GETTY IMAGES; DIRTY GRANDPA: LUNASPACE; LEGION: FX; MIKE AND DAVE NEED WEDDING DATES: THE TO DO LIST; EVERETT





kind of person would do something like this," she says. "I did explore that. But I never wanted to make it completely about that." To Plaza, the movie shows what happens when a person who's ill-equipped to handle a barrage of envy-inducing status updates gets her hands on a phone and a 4G data plan.

Ingrid upends her entire life, from zit cream to zip code, to bask in the sun-soaked glory of a total stranger, one who—it's hardly surprising—turns out not to be the picture of bliss she cultivates. "I wanted Ingrid to be the personification of that unhealthy urge to spiral, looking at other people's lives and wanting a connection," says Plaza. So the actor, who says spending hours staring at her phone "goes against every instinct in my body," did just that. "When the camera was rolling, when it wasn't, I was on Instagram, letting myself go down those holes. It's really depressing to be sitting in one position, not interacting with the world, looking at other people's photos and wanting what they have."

**"I WANT TO BE** Catwoman more than anything," Plaza says, eyes widening, when I ask her what she wants to do next. "I made myself Catwoman in *Ingrid*,"—she's referring to some bedroom role-playing with co-star O'Shea Jackson Jr., who plays Ingrid's Batman-infatuated

landlord—"because I was like, This might be as close as I get."

I ask what she'd be doing if she weren't in show business, and she says she'd be an agent. "I'm always telling other people what they should do in their careers," she explains. But then she says that's a cheap response, since agents are acting adjacents, and settles on an alternative: "Maybe I would run a haunted bed-and-breakfast somewhere and be a weird hotel woman."

It sounds like she's feeding me an answer that witchy April would have sanctioned, and I ask if I've caught her in the people-pleasing feedback loop she explained earlier. "No, I really want to do that," she says. "But I wouldn't be mean about it."

It's the association with April's meanness that seems to bother her the most. The sarcasm she owns—when our avocado toast arrives, she begins sneezing (for real) and deadpans that she is allergic (not for real, though it took me a moment to suss that out) before taking a big bite. But the hostility she objects to. She tells the story of a recent interview, when a reporter began, "So, you're really mean," which prompted her to defend herself in a way that she feared came off as, well, mean. "I don't know what you're going to write," she tells me now. "I don't trust anyone. I mean, you seem nice, but ..." she trails off. "I'm always like, Don't say anything stupid."

I think about what she would want me to write, and it's this: Aubrey Plaza would like you to go to the theater and see the movie she poured her heart into. And not out of some desperate need for affirmation. More and more we're watching films—particularly those that don't seem to warrant the surround-sound of a cinema—from our couches. "When we used to go see movies in theaters growing up, there was something about just the image being really big that sticks in your mind. It has a lasting impression on your psyche," she says wistfully. "But I don't know what's going to happen. I have faith, because I think people need to gather and experience things as a group. They need that connection." A connection deeper than the dopamine release we get when someone likes our latest Instagram post. □

## A guide to the genius of Plaza

We asked Plaza which roles she'd put in a time capsule of her career so far—and then chose our own.



### HER FAVORITES

#### INGRID THORBURN, *INGRID GOES WEST*

"I haven't had enough screen time," Plaza says. "This movie allowed me to be onscreen every single scene."

#### APRIL LUDGATE, *PARKS AND RECREATION*

Although Plaza is ready to leave April behind, she feels warmly toward the angsty intern: "She's what started it all."

#### LENORE, *DIRTY GRANDPA*

The bawdy comedy, though critically disparaged, put her in good company. "I mean, De Niro's in there," she says.



### AND OURS

#### TATIANA, MIKE AND DAVE *NEED WEDDING DATES*

Plaza steals the show as a lewd opportunist hiding her bad-girl swagger under a thin veneer of respectability.

#### BRANDY KLARK, *THE TO DO LIST*

As a bookish teen who redirects her attention to her sexual education, Plaza exudes a sincere and relatable naiveté.

#### LENNY BUSKER, *LEGION*

An androgynous addict who morphs into a menacing whirl of psychic energy, Lenny is Plaza's juiciest role yet.



## MOVIES

## Whose Streets? is a ragged, bracing protest document

By Stephanie Zacharek

LITTLE GOOD CAN COME FROM THE TRAGEDY OF MICHAEL Brown. The 18-year-old unarmed black man was shot to death in the city of Ferguson, Mo., near St. Louis, on Aug. 9, 2014, by white police officer Darren Wilson, who fired 12 bullets. After Brown was killed, his body lay in the street for four hours before being transported to a morgue. A St. Louis County grand jury declined to indict Wilson, and a subsequent Department of Justice investigation concluded that he did not violate Brown's constitutional rights. But the community knew that a grave wrong had been committed. Citizens gathered in peaceful protest, though in some cases their anger erupted into violence. Sabaah Folan's documentary *Whose Streets?*, co-directed by Damon Davis, is a gritty record of that time and its aftermath. It represents the spirit of something more powerful than a bullet, the seed of something good springing from a terrible and unjust event.

*Whose Streets?* is rough around the edges, like a torn photograph whose borders have also been raggedly burned. But that's more a strength than a liability: Folan makes extensive use of citizens' cell-phone and video-camera footage shot on the fly, much of it capturing a community struck with anger and sorrowful shock in the hours and days following the shooting. Folan also conducts interviews with the people who formed the backbone of the resistance movement that sprang up in Ferguson and quickly captured the attention of the country, and of the world. Those interviewees include Brittany Farrell, a young

^  
Activist  
Brittany Farrell  
and daughter  
Kenna: these  
are their streets

'It wasn't being registered in the mainstream media as grief—it was being registered as "They're thugs."'

SABAAB FOLAN, in *Elle*, describing the frustration that led her to make *Whose Streets?*, about the Ferguson protests

mother and student who put her education on hold to organize marches and demonstrations in the wake of Brown's killing. Her daughter Kenna was 6 at the time and took part in the protests with her mother from the start. "I want her to think for herself, to resist and participate in democracy," Farrell says. "That is your right, and that cannot be taken away from you."

The most effective images in *Whose Streets?* are those of peaceful protesters holding signs—including two girls bearing matching placards emblazoned with pink handprints and the legend DON'T SHOOT—as members of local law enforcement and the military hold their weapons at the ready. (At times during the demonstrations, police used tear gas.) In one sequence, police tell nighttime demonstrators to "return to their homes," unaware—and seeming not to care—that those people are standing in their own front yards.

Folan also includes footage of the looting and rioting that are part of this story, an eruption of anger and frustration that marred protests that ought to have been peaceful. But the movie isn't intended to be a strict procedural record of who did what, when. Instead, it's a brash example of guerrilla filmmaking—its immediacy and its energy are its strongest attributes. The protests gave a jolt of momentum to the Black Lives Matter movement, established in 2013 following the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the killing of Trayvon Martin. *Whose Streets?* is part of the middle of the story. It's by no means the end. □



## QUICK TALK

### John Cho

*In the drama Columbus, the actor, 45, plays the estranged son of an architect who has taken ill. It was filmed in Columbus, Ind., a mecca of modernist architecture.*

**Did the movie change how you look at architecture?** I thought about how architects can make us feel in the way they design spaces. I'm thinking about North Christian Church, by Eero Saarinen. My father was a preacher. They say the church is not the building, it's the people in it. In this church, the seating went upward. It was in the round, so the congregants looked at one another and down at the preacher. It was impossible not to conclude that the church was the people around you.

**The film talks about seeing the place where you grew up with new eyes. Has that happened to you?** L.A.'s a great place to have that happen. You drive by these mini-malls. They look so ugly, but if you close your eyes and open them, it's remarkable that so much life is happening. There might be a Spanish-speaking church or a Korean karaoke room. These little mini-malls contain all this life.

**You're in the upcoming season of *The Exorcist*. Did it give you nightmares?** Part of the reason I took [the role] is I have not been in this genre. I saw it as very white. Horror has been killing off the blond cheerleader. But typically, it is a struggle to remember something's scary. [Filming *Star Trek* on] the *Enterprise*, you have to work at pretending you're flying through space. I expect the same in horror.

**What do you remember about the depictions of Asian Americans onscreen when you were a kid?**

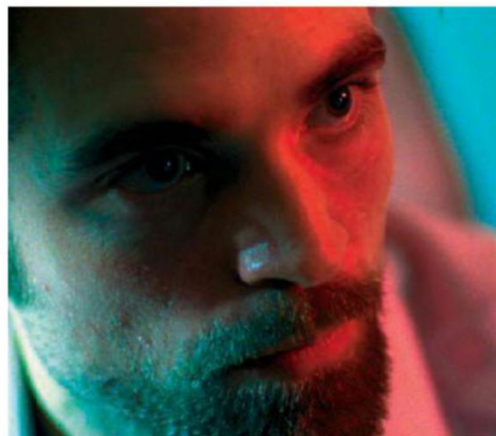
I remember seeing not much. And when it was there, it was usually insulting. I didn't want to contribute to that library of iconography. I always saw it from the vantage point of 12-year-old me. If I had an audition for the role of a Chinese delivery guy, would 12-year-old me appreciate it or be dismayed by it? Despite yourself, you believe what the screen tells you about yourself.

—ELIZA BERMAN

## ON MY RADAR

### SEARCH PARTY

*"I just got into it. That show is amazing. Alia Shawkat, the lead actress, is really gifted. Boy is she good."*



Pattinson in *Good Time*: the eyes have it

## MOVIES

### Pattinson packs a punch in *Good Time*

IN THE EARLY MINUTES OF JOSH AND BENNY Safdie's *Good Time*, we meet Nick Nikas (Benny Safdie), a sullen young man who clearly suffers from some kind of intellectual disability, as he's being quizzed by a kindly mental-health practitioner. Nick wears a hearing aid. His words come slowly—his pillowy lips can barely form them—and his eyes seem shut off from the world. When the shrink asks Nick what first comes to mind when he hears the words "scissors and a cooking pan," his answer—as easy to read as a street sign—is, "You can hurt yourself with both." Nick needs real help, but he's not going to get it from his bad-apple brother Connie (Robert Pattinson), who manipulates Nick even as he protects him. The two are entwined in a figurative headlock of dependence and twisted affection. It's a power struggle neither can bust out of.

The Safdie brothers' fourth fiction feature is partly a study of dysfunctional brotherhood, partly a gritty-funny New York City crime caper. If you can tolerate the Safdie's fondness for extreme closeups—the picture is shot largely in a mode I like to call Blackhead Theater—*Good Time* offers plenty of sweaty suspense laced with a few bittersweet laughs. But Pattinson is the real reason to see it: his Connie, wiry and intense, with beady, cracked-out eyes, is the kind of guy you'd cross the street to avoid. But by the movie's end, you realize that his desperation veils a rush of longing. For what? Pattinson plays Connie as a guy who just doesn't know—and that not knowing dogs him like a silent, persistent ghost. —S.Z.



Gilchrist brings soul and sensitivity to *Atypical*

TELEVISION

## A family story with a son on the spectrum

“PEOPLE THINK AUTISTIC PEOPLE don’t have empathy, but that’s not true,” Sam (Keir Gilchrist) says in Netflix’s new family comedy *Atypical*. “Sometimes I can’t tell if someone’s upset, but once I know, I feel lots of empathy. Maybe even more than neurotypicals.”

That’s an apt summation of the strengths—and some of the weaknesses—of this charming eight-episode addition to the streaming service. Sam, whose difficulty picking up on social cues has deeply affected his family’s life, is also a loving and engaged part of his family’s life. Even so, his parents, played by Michael Rapaport and Jennifer Jason Leigh, and sister (Brigette Lundy-Paine) begin spinning away from one another with not unjustifiable selfishness.

*Atypical* doesn’t always trust the strength of its core narrative, as if its creators believe there needs to be some juicy inducement to get viewers to tune into an otherwise well-told family story. The most striking example comes in the form of Leigh’s exorcising her household stresses in an extramarital

affair. The duller is Rapaport’s attempt to bond with his son by helping nurse a crush on his therapist. *Speechless*, ABC’s remarkable sitcom about the pains and joys of a family touched by disability, proves that narrative twists like these aren’t necessary.

The heart of *Atypical* is its difficult-to-forget main character. Sam sits rigidly upright on the bus so as to avoid touching the seat back. He pulls a stranger’s ponytail at his sister’s track meet to get it to stop shaking in his face. And he has an unusual coping mechanism in times of stress: he thinks about Antarctica, and how chilly and remote it is there. Gilchrist, previously seen as Toni Collette’s son on Showtime’s *United States of Tara*, conveys Sam’s gifts and challenges masterfully.

High school—with its constant interpersonal sparks—is as far from the South Pole as it gets. And *Atypical*, in quieter moments, shows how a group of people band together to get one perceptive, thoughtful kid through.

—DANIEL D’ADDARIO

**ATYPICAL** is streaming on Netflix now

NEW AWARENESS

Television is paying increased attention to the issues *Atypical* raises: earlier this year, *Sesame Street* introduced Julia, a young Muppet with autism.



Eichner and Klausner create drama wherever they go

TELEVISION

## Musical theater and misanthropy

TV IS UNDENIABLY crowded. But if the herd were thinned even a little, we might lose shows that are unafraid to be terrifically specific—willing to stage parodies of Woody Allen’s little-watched Amazon sitcom or to presume familiarity with Stephen Sondheim’s *Sunday in the Park With George*. *Difficult People*, the Hulu comedy in its third season, is one of those gems that would be too good to lose.

The show works in the zany vein of *30 Rock*, making use of New York City archetypes. Julie (show creator Julie Klausner) is a barely working actor ever enabling or being enabled by her BFF (Billy Eichner of *Billy on the Street*). Each episode sees slight movement toward Julie and Billy’s dream of fame, before misanthropy sets them back once again. The jokes, often at the expense of celebrities, are told with startling confidence. Who knows how the market can support a show so narrowly targeted to a literate, mean audience—but who cares when it’s this funny? —D.D.

**DIFFICULT PEOPLE** streams new episodes Tuesdays on Hulu



## BOOKS

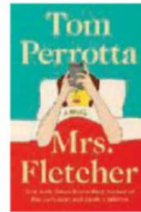
# Everyday people, extraordinary books

TOM PERROTTA HAS DOCUMENTED DECADES' WORTH OF social issues in deceptively domestic novels. He addressed modern parenting in 2004's *Little Children*, the Christian right in 2007's *The Abstinence Teacher* and the response to grief in 2011's *The Leftovers*. All those works take place in suburban America and have at their centers workaday folks living against the backdrop of sweeping change. In examining the national interest by way of dinner-table conversation, Perrotta has created some of the most memorably human drama of his era. His new novel, *Mrs. Fletcher*, about a mother and son, is the latest example.

"I never feel like I'm writing about the suburbs," says Perrotta. "I feel like I'm writing about people who live in the suburbs, and people are a subject of inexhaustible interest." *Mrs. Fletcher* is a look at two kinds of sexual revolution: the breakdown of barriers created by Internet porn and the new manner of talking about sex on campus. It will spark plenty of conversations before college drop-off begins in August.

To Perrotta, Internet porn—the sort that comes to obsess empty-nester Eve Fletcher—has been a democratizing force: "I certainly don't want to be the person defending porn, but one of the things it's done is show that real people are not as sexually picky as American commercial culture might lead us to believe. There's a place in porn for older people, people of different races." Meanwhile, new cultural wokeness—and rigidity—creates confusion and resentment for Brendan, Eve's blithely self-assured, unsophisticated son. Perrotta demonstrates how the conversation around re-envisioning sex and gender, one that occurs entirely above Brendan's head, has consequences. In the author's telling, it "leads to a kind of puritanical calling-out of people who have sinned against these goals."

This may be the latest of Perrotta's works to be adapted by Hollywood. HBO, which broadcast the grand-scale adaptation *The Leftovers*, has optioned *Mrs. Fletcher*, following film versions of Perrotta novels *Election* and *Little Children*. But the in-demand author's wading into the contemporary campus comes from a prosaic place: chats with his college-age children, who also helped inspire his previous books. (*Little Children* came out when they were just that.) The parent and his children have had very different experiences. "I looked at college as this place of freedom and liberation and fun," says Perrotta (Yale '83). "And now a lot of people experience it as a kind of minefield, where you have to watch what you say. Maybe that's not a bad thing, but I think the sense of it as a fun place or a place where the world gets bigger has become much more complicated." Perceptive of slight shifts in the social current but never condemning his sinning characters' souls, Perrotta proves an amiable guide through it all. —D.D.



## COMPLEX CHARACTER

Newly liberated Eve is the latest memorable Perrotta heroine. Says the author: "I'm really interested in telling the story of women of my generation."



## PICKS

# It's not over yet

September's coming soon. Here are three beach-vacation classics for the precious last weeks of summer. —Sarah Begley



## TENDER IS THE NIGHT (1934)

By F. Scott Fitzgerald

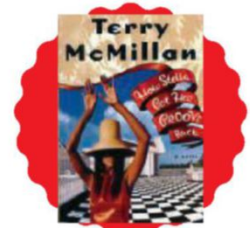
A couple's tenuous marriage begins to unravel on the French Riviera, surrounded by temptation and danger. Inspired in part by his own life, it was the last novel Fitzgerald would complete.



## PHILISTINES AT THE HEDGEROW (1998)

By Steven Gaines

The journalist's pop history examines "passion and property in the Hamptons," where the rich and the famous behave badly and compete over real estate with long-entrenched locals.



## HOW STELLA GOT HER GROOVE BACK (1996)

By Terry McMillan

A divorced investment analyst takes a break from her life as a single mom and heads on vacation to Jamaica, where she falls for a man half her age.



Rihanna announced a five-year partnership with a bike-sharing firm to help **provide better access to education** for girls in Malawi.



*Despicable Me* became the **top-grossing animated-film franchise ever**, surpassing *Shrek*, with the latest Minions movie pushing the total global box office over \$3.5 billion.



Japan's Biotherapy Development Research Center has reportedly **created ice cream that doesn't melt**.



Two months after the rocker's death, **Chris Cornell's 12-year-old daughter Toni paid tribute to her dad** with a moving rendition of "Hallelujah" on *Good Morning America*.



**'What I'm not gonna do is be ashamed of my mistakes. I wanna be a man that learns from them and grows from them.'**

—JUSTIN BIEBER, after canceling the remainder of his Purpose World Tour

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

LOVE IT  
LEAVE IT

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

TLC personality Derick Dillard came under fire for **posting a transphobic tweet** about *I Am Jazz* star Jazz Jennings.



*Game of Thrones* creator George R.R. Martin tweeted that despite getting recognized nearly everywhere he goes, **he wasn't recognized in his publisher's office**, where security guards demanded to see his ID.



Jaden Smith's cardboard-packaged-water startup is **suining a vegan-mayonnaise company over a branding dispute**.



Instagram's hottest food trend is the "swineapple"—**a grilled pineapple stuffed with pork and wrapped in bacon**.



The NBC drama *This Is Us* will **lose one of its 11 Emmy nominations**, for contemporary costume design, because most of its season finale takes place in the 1970s rather than in the past 25 years, as the award's regulations require.





## Anytime but now: the perils of fighting last year's wars and pining for yesterday's heroes

By **Susanna Schrobsdorff**

LEFT, RIGHT AND VANISHING CENTER, WE'VE ALL BEEN spending too much time in the past lately. On the right, Donald Trump's fans yearn for a bygone America—1950s industries, 1950s masculinity and 1950s demographics. Meanwhile, the left is nostalgic for a more recent past. Either way, we're losing sight of larger issues, like the planet and our health.

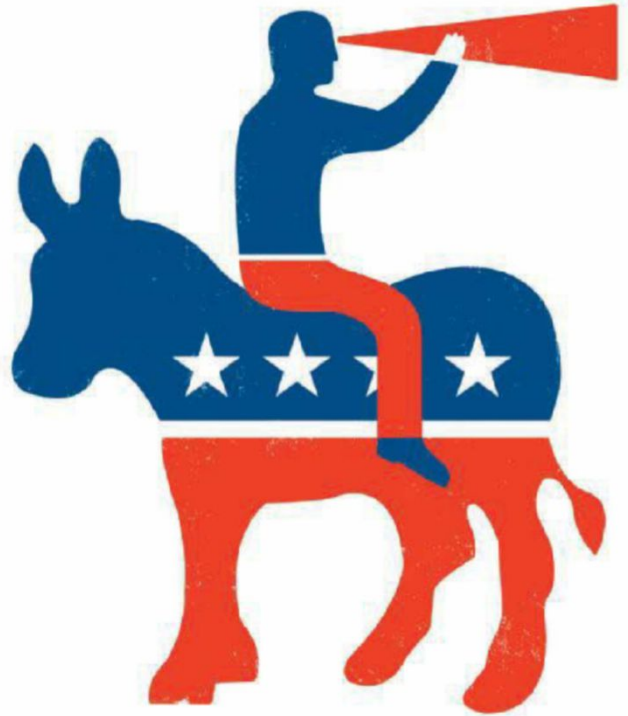
Pete Souza, Barack Obama's White House photographer, has been teasing everyone for months by posting photos of the Obama years that cunningly contrast with whatever President Trump is currently doing. But on Obama's birthday, Aug. 4, the O-stalgia went into overdrive. The Internet declared it #BarackObamaDay, and social media was awash in images of the former President being nothing like the current one. There he was hugging his wife, laughing at Angela Merkel's jokes and speaking in utterly comprehensible, often eloquent sentences.

There are some benefits to our longing. Experts on the subject at the University of Southampton in the U.K. say that while nostalgia is often triggered by adverse events, it creates a sense of belonging and helps us "cope more effectively with the vicissitudes of life." Democrats know all about vicissitudes. The desire to play videos of Obama singing "Let's Stay Together" or dancing with Ellen DeGeneres on a loop is understandable. But it's time to move on, people. He's not coming back to the White House, and neither is Hillary Clinton for that matter.

It is no longer healing to root through old video clips and tweets for evidence of Trump hypocrisy, vulgarity or mendacity to use as kindling for the social-media pyre. "We told you so" is useless. Facts are out of style. And we won't know for years which ones really mattered anyway.

**OF COURSE**, Trump hasn't gotten over 2016 either. He can't go a week without talking about the election and Clinton's emails. Conservative columnists David Brooks and Peggy Noonan are also pining for an un-Trumpian past. Both recently wrote about the dearth of old-fashioned manliness in the White House. Trump should emulate midcentury icons like Gary Cooper, says Noonan, i.e., be quieter and cooler and less whiny, emotional and reactive. (Like, maybe ... Obama?) Brooks went all the way back to ancient Greece, writing, "The Greeks took manliness to the next level."

It's no wonder we can't live in the present. Turn on the TV and you'll see Watergate prosecutors or Bill Clinton prosecutor Ken Starr or any number of officials from previous Administrations dissecting the current almost-constitutional crisis. I'm half-expecting Richard Nixon



to appear with some thoughts on the legalities of impeachment. (And when you think about it, wouldn't he have loved that?) Someone is already channeling his spirit via the wildly popular @Dick\_Nixon Twitter handle.

**THEN THERE'S CABLE NEWS' FIXATION** on anniversaries. It's impossible to go five days without a news program looking back at the previous five months. We'd just finished evaluating the first 100 days of Trump when a wave of commemorative programming about the first six months began. Brian Williams has taken to starting his nightly news program with phrases like "It's Day 186 of the Trump Administration." It's as if we're all being held hostage by the 2016 election.

The onslaught of events unfolding in real time is overwhelming enough, but on top of that, this President has a penchant for making news by making things up. Sorting fact from fantasy will require a fleet of biographers. And take a moment to consider how the past year will be told in Trump's memoirs.

Speaking of memoirs: Hillary Clinton's *What Happened* is coming out in September. September? We're still recovering from "what happened"—Do we have to go back there quite so fast? I'm not ready. Did you know there were women's marches to mark the six-month anniversary of the Women's March in January? I can't imagine what we're going to do when Nov. 8 arrives. Stage costumed re-enactments at a Trump hotel or two? Place candles at the altar of the Javits Center?

Before that circus starts, let's take a break. Maybe we should settle into the new season of the bipartisanly popular and unabashedly nostalgic *This Is Us* before we go back to arguing about what *us* means. Reliving a train wreck that's not even over yet is no way to heal. ▣

**Jeff Flake** The Republican Senator from Arizona on disagreeing with Trump, his new book *Conscience of a Conservative* and why he's crashing his own party

**You say that conservatives have “lost” their way, being swept up by xenophobia, populism, nationalism. If that’s the case, how does the party right itself?** We need to re-embrace those principles that we’ve gone away from: free trade, immigration. It’s not just the policy approach; it’s the demeanor. Conservatism is measured and reliable. Conservative foreign policy is where you embrace your allies and recognize your enemies. That’s a long way from where we are today. We’ve adopted a populist attitude that is a sugar high.

**Can you win re-election in 2018?** Yes. Arizona voters have always valued independence in their elected officials. The last thing voters want is a rubber-stamp Senator who agrees with the President or the party on everything.

**You write about the destructiveness of “petty partisanship.” Yet you voted for a partisan health care bill. How do you reconcile that?** My preference would certainly be to sit down with my colleagues from across the aisle and not try to reform or repeal Obamacare in the way that the Democrats passed it. There’s an urgency here. We have 200,000 Arizonans who will wake up tomorrow without insurance. I was certainly anxious to keep any hope of reform alive.

**Do you think bipartisanship is possible with health care?** I do. We’ve reached the limit of what we can do with just the members of one party. There are certainly Democrats ready to work with us. Let’s take them up on it.

**How do you respond to people who say that while you have been critical of President Trump during the election and now in this book, you still vote with him?** It depends on what he supports. He named a good Cabinet. Remember, in the first six months of a new Administration, the Senate is in the personnel business. And

I’ve always felt that a President ought to get his or her people unless there’s something disqualifying. Elections have consequences. Barack Obama ought to have had his people. I feel the same with President Trump. So when people say, “Oh, Flake voted with Trump 95% of the time”—ha! Ninety-five percent of what we’ve done is just personnel.

**You criticize Trump’s trade policies, his immigration policies and the travel ban—things he did unilaterally. How do you turn your prescriptions into action?**

On immigration we’re gonna have to deal with it in Congress. I hope to expand [the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program]. These kids ought to be protected. Every piece of immigration legislation that I’ve supported has included a version of the Dream Act. The Administration wants to cut back significantly on legal immigration, and I don’t think that’s wise. And then the refugee program. We ought to continue to be welcoming to at least some refugees. We’ve taken a far smaller number than some of our allies. We obviously screen and screen well, but we ought to continue to be a welcoming nation.

**You said you wrote the book in secrecy. How is that possible?** My family certainly knew. But I didn’t tell my staff in the Senate or my political advisers on the campaign. I didn’t want to be talked out of it.

**How long did it take to write?** I started last summer. I thought we’d hit the election and Republicans would lose and we’d do another autopsy. And I’d have something ready for that. But then, you know, the election went differently. And I thought we needed it even more.

—JACK BREWSTER

**‘The last thing voters want is a rubber-stamp Senator who agrees with the President or the party on everything.’**



AL DRAGO—REDFUX/THE NEW YORK TIMES



A person in a blue shirt and cap is kayaking through a marshy area with tall green grass and water. The sky is a mix of orange, pink, and blue, suggesting sunset or sunrise. The kayaker is in the lower half of the frame, moving towards the right.

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